A STUDY
of
PORTUGUESE REGIMENTOS
on
SRI LANKA
at the Goa Archives

Edited and translated with an
Introduction by
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The two documents included in this study as appendices IIA and IIIA are reproduced with the permission of Dr. Alberto Iria of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, and Dr. V. T. Gune of the Historical Archives, Goa.

Abbreviations

AHU—Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon

Assentos—*Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, edited by Panduronga S.S. Pissurlencar

BM Addl. Ms.—Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum (Department of Western Manuscripts)

Doc. Rem.—*Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções*, edited by Raymundo Antonio de Bulhao Pato

IOL. Port. Trans.—India Office Library, London, Portuguese Transcripts

JCBRAS—*The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*

Queyroz—*The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* by Fernão de Queyroz (the English translation, unless otherwise stated)

Introduction

THE ARCHIVES at Goa have a long history stretching back some three hundred and seventy years. Created by a royal decree dated the 25th of February 1595, their first custodian was the famous Portuguese chronicler Diogo do Couto.[1] As Goa was the seat of the viceroys who guided the destinies of the widely-scattered Portuguese possessions in the east, it was natural that the archives there should come to house one of the most precious collections of documents pertaining to these possessions. For any historian with an interest in the period of Portuguese rule in Ceylon these archives are therefore invaluable.

For Ceylon the most valuable among the collections at Goa is the series known as *Regimentos e Instrucções*. It is true that the series known as "the Books of the Monsoons" (*Livros das Monções*) covers wider ground, but the information these volumes contain lacks depth and is very sketchy, if not altogether scrappy. This had to be necessarily so because the Books of the Monsoons contained correspondence between Goa, as headquarters of Portugal's eastern empire, and Europe, and could therefore touch only the broadest outlines of development in each factory or Portuguese possession. The *Regimentos e Instrucções*, on the other hand, contain copies of standing orders (*regimentos*) and instructions (*instrucções*) issued to officers going out to Ceylon (among other Portuguese possessions) and quite often these are very detailed. While a historian whose interest is the wider field of the Portuguese east can, therefore confine himself to the Books of the Monsoons, those wishing to study developments in each station or territory in detail will find the *Regimentos e Instrucções* indispensable.

Each Portuguese official was given a set of instructions outlining his duties on his appointment to a post. These were issued by the viceroy—or by the governor in the absence of a viceroy. Copies of these were apparently kept at Goa, for reference and record. The series *Regimentos e Instrucções* of which twenty five volumes covering the years from 1594 to 1865 are preserved at Goa, consist of these copies. The first five codices in this collection (numbered 1418, 1419 1420, 1421, and 1422), covering the years 1564-1657, are relevant to Ceylon.

Not all documents even among those dealing with Ceylon are of interest to us. Many of these, for example, are standing orders and sailing instructions issued to captains of vessels taking reinforcements and supplies to Ceylon. From about 1638—the year in which the Dutch-Kandyan alliance against the Portuguese in Ceylon was born—more and more ships carrying assistance to the hard-pressed Portuguese garrisons appear to have sailed, and therefore the number of standing orders issued to captains of these vessels increases. But such documents are repetitious for the sailing route from Goa or Cochin to Ceylon across the gulf of Mannar remained the same, and except to the naval historian, these sailing instructions are not of much interest.

Ideally, a *regimento* was intended to outline the problems that a new occupant of office was likely to face and provide the broad framework within which solutions should be worked out. It is of course true that no official in Goa could visualise all the detailed problems that were likely to arise in Ceylon. But it does not follow from this that no guidelines at all could be set in Goa. The whole point of issuing a set of standing orders would be lost if these were so vague as to provide no guidance at all. Yet some *regimentos* in this collection clearly belong to this category. The officers issuing documents were either too lazy to do their home-work and preferred to copy out from an earlier document or

1. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, *Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa* (Bastora 1955) p. v.

were afraid to commit to writing anything original that could be held against them later. Clearly, most Portuguese officials in Goa were, in their lack of initiative and in their anxiety to play safe, no better than most civil servants in other ages and other countries.

Fortunately for us, not all viceroys were afraid to lay down policy. Some, like Pero da Silva,[2] were models of virtue. The standing orders that he drew up for the guidance of Diogo Mendes de Brito were among the most detailed ever drawn up. It is the availability of documents like these that makes a period of study in the Goa archives a rewarding experience.

I propose in this monograph to discuss selected documents relating to Ceylon, to be found in the first five codices of the series *Regimentos e Instrucções*.

2. Viceroy from December 1635 to June 1639.

Codex 1418 (1564-1631)

THERE are three documents relating to Ceylon in this volume. Two of them are standing orders issued for the Portuguese fort at Mannar while the third was issued in respect of the "fort and island of Ceylon "[3]. These three *regimentos* in being issued not as orders to individuals but as regulations for the management of stations are unlike many in this series. They set out the normal complement of offices, itemize approved expenditure and estimate income. The information they provide is thus of the basic kind, but any student who on that account ignores them will know little about the administrative and military establishment at each station and nothing about the financial viability of each possession.

(1) Of the two *regimentos* on Mannar,[4] the first was the work of the viceroy Dom Francisco Mascarenhas,[5] and bears the date 31 December 1582, while the second, dated 26 February 1597, was drawn up by Mathias de Albuquerque.[6] The two documents are complementary —the second having been issued specifically to rectify the omissions in the first and to prune expenses incurred in excess of what was authorized therein. It will be convenient to take the two documents together and discuss their contents, drawing attention, however, to any new matter embodied in the later *regimento*, where such inclusion reflects changes that had taken place between 1582 and 1597.[7]

The subject-matter in the two *regimentos* can be grouped under three heads—sources of revenue, items of expenditure, and instructions on the keeping of accounts. These documents also indicate that Mannar was valuable to the Portuguese not only for what it yielded, but also for where it was — placed strategically at a point from which it was possible to dominate north Ceylon, South India, and the narrow seas separating the two. The information they contain on how the Portuguese used Mannar as a base to achieve this purpose constitutes a fourth head under which to discuss the contents of the two *regimentos*.

The Portuguese government in Mannar derived revenues from two sources—from the island and its products and from the sea. Mannar has less than fifty square miles of territory, with a soil which is dry, sandy and lacking in fresh water. No food crops could be raised there, and its only product appears to have been dye roots, collected from the island from a wild shrub called *xaya* by the Portuguese after a native word meaning colour or dye.[8] A tax on traders, called *bolça*[9] and the rent from the sole right to sell local spirits—*arrack* -were the other revenues from the island. A strip of territory on the mainland of Ceylon called Mantota was then subject to Portuguese Mannar. This land was well-watered by

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3. The Portuguese text of these three documents has appeared in print in Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India* (Bastora 1951) pp. 358–371, 479–492, 509–511.

4. Mannar was captured by the Portuguese in 1560.

5. Viceroy from September 1581 to November 1584.

6. Viceroy from May 1591 to May 1597.

7. A third *regimento* for Mannar was issued on 17 July 1645. This is summarised in P. E. Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jafanapatam* 1645 pp. 16–24.

8. The plant is the Indian madder (Oldenlandia Umbellata), the *chay* of English East India Company records. The dye came from its roots. In 1582 only seven *bahars* of dye-roots were collected for the government every two years. By 1645 the collection had gone up to twenty *bahars*, and its money -value to the Portuguese treasury was 100 *pardaos*. (Queyroz p. 1194).

9. *Bolça* means purse in Portuguese. Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera has therefore translated the expression *renda de bolça* occurring in Queyroz as rent of the purse. (Queyroz p. 1194). But that the term was used for a contribution from traders is clear from P. E. Pieris, *op. cit.* p. 22.

rivers and tanks and was therefore richer than the island. It raised rice and cattle. On the rice, the government levied a tithe, while the owners of cattle had to make a contribution of 400 *canadas*[10] of butter. These two items together with a cash contribution of 500 *fanam*, are listed in the document under the revenues of Mannar. Clearly, neither the island nor the strip of territory on the mainland, were desirable on account of their agricultural products alone.[11]

At Mannar the harvest from the sea was more valuable—and certainly more valued than that from the land. Its pearl fisheries have been famous for centuries, the first recorded instance of the export of pearls going back to the third century before the Chistian era.[12] The Portuguese were not slow to exploit this source of revenue.

Six or seven years must be allowed for the oysters to grow before they can be expected to bear pearls of value, but the smaller seed pearls may be had from four-year old oysters.[13] Pearl-oysters are also known to have mysteriously disappeared from time to time–there was such a failure during the years 1604-1634,[14] but these documents assume regular annual fisheries. The *regimento* of 1582 refers to the large fishery and the small fishery (*pescaria grande* and *pescaria pequena*) ; since no more than one pearl fishery a year is known to have been ever conducted (indeed, weather conditions in the gulf do not permit two fisheries a year), the reference must be to two pearl banks[15] and not to two seasons. The dues register for Jaffnapatnam prepared by the Portuguese in 1645 makes it clear that each year they fished for pearls only among selected banks[16] thus allowing others banks to lie "fallow " and their oysters to mature. It was also usual to carry out a pilot survey, during which samples taken from the oyster beds were examined before deciding on the fishery.

Neither the Portuguese nor their successors the Dutch received any pearls from the fishery. Their revenues were derived from leasing the right to fish for oysters. Only one Portuguese writer—captain João Ribeiro—explains how this right was leased out, in contrast to several of the memoirs left by the governors of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, which go into great detail.[17] Putting together the information from the Portuguese, Dutch and nineteenth century British sources, one can form an idea of how the Portuguese obtained their fishing revenues.

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10. The *canada* was a measure of capacity and in Portugal was equal to 1.40 litres.

11. For information on what these sources were expected to yield to the Portuguese in 1645, see Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, (Colombo 1930) p. 1194.

12. Among the gifts that king Devanampiyatissa sent to the emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. were several kinds of pearls. The *Mahavamsa* translated by Geiger (London 1934), Ch. XI verses 14–18. This work does not of course say that the pearls came from Mannar, but there are no other pearl banks in Ceylon.

13. The standard work on the pearl fisheries of Ceylon is James Steuart, *An Account of the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon*, (Cotta 1843).

14. J. Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, volume II (London 1860) pp. 561–565 ; Queyroz p. 729 ; C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617–1638* (Colombo 1972) p. 213.

15. Steuart noted no less than 32 banks, some of them brought to light by himself. It is therefore possible that only two banks were known to, or at least exploited by the Portuguese. This supposition is strengthened by the name Great Bank that one of the banks bears. (There is, however, no Small Bank).

16. P. E. Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jafanapatam* 1645 p. 21. See also paragraph 48 of Appendix III.

17. Ribeiro, *History of Ceilão* (ed. Pieris) (Colombo 1909), pp. 163–7.

Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon 1656–1665 translated by Sophia Pieters, (Colombo 1908) pp. 100–101.

Memoir of Thomas van Rhee, translated by Sophia Anthonisz (Colombo 1915) p. 20.

Memoir of Hendrick Zwaardecroon, translated by S. Pieters (Colombo 1911) p. 81.

Memoir of Hendrick Becker, translated by S. Anthonisz, (Colombo 1914) pp. 12–13.

Portuguese revenues must have come in the form of stone-money, so called because the government's due was reckoned at so much for each stone that the diver carried on his descent to the oyster beds. The government as the owner of the pearl banks in effect leased out for cash payment the right to exploit them and provided the necessary facilities and maintained law and order during the fishing.

The document of 1582 states that the government's due was settled according to fishery and custom (*pescaria e custume*). But by 1597 a fixed rate had been decided : a Moor who participated in the fishing had to pay five *pardaos*[18] and a heathen diver had to pay half that sum and this rate has to be taken as the amount of stone money due from each diver. Ribeiro, whose service in the island dated from 1640, indicates that in his day the share of the government was settled by the representatives of all interested parties before the commencement of actual fishing.[19]

The total income the Portuguese obtained from their pearl fisheries in Ceylon must have varied from year to year, for the number of divers employed could vary, as also the proportion of Moors to *gentios*, there being no indication that fishing was ever leased out to an individual or a consortium for a lump sum. The figure of 64,000 *fanam*[20]—60,000 from the fishery and 4,000 collected as dues for the instruction of the children of the fishing castes—given in the *regimento* of 1597 as the collection from the fishery must therefore be taken only as an estimate.

The substantial income that the Portuguese derived from the pearl fishery was supplemented by other items of revenue derived from sources that may be considered ancillary to the fishery. One of these was known as the " sifting rent " (*renda do aripo*) and consisted of the right to sift for pearls the sands of the enclosures in which the oysters had to be deposited after landing.[21] This right was auctioned to the highest bidder and the income credited to revenue. Another item was the rent from the trading stalls set up for the duration of the fishery. The pearl fishery must have borne the appearance of a gigantic fair with something in the region of perhaps 50,000 people participating—as divers, boatmen, soldiers, priests, officials, pearl dealers, speculators or as hangers-on and lasting over two months.[22] The multifarious nature of the services that had to be provided for this mass of humanity can be understood from Steuart's remark that even undertakers optimistically turned up for the occasion. To provide for the needs of this community a bazaar was set up and the trading stallholders had to pay a rent to the government. This rent was known as the *renda de boticas do bazar* (rent from the stalls of the bazaar). It was an extension of the principle underlying the *renda de bolça* to the temporary trading stalls.

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18. A coin equivalent in value to 300 Portuguese *reis* or three Ceylon *larins*. For further information, see H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo 1924).

19. Ribeiro, *op. cit.* p. 164.

20. The *fanam* was a coin which circulated in South India and Ceylon for over four centuries, and which bore varying local values. In seventeenth century Ceylon (except in Jaffna, Puttalam or the Vanni lands) the *fanam* was equal in value to 1/20 of a *larin*.

For a discussion of the revenues from the pearl fishery in the 17th century, see C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617–1638* p. 215.

21. On being landed from boats, the oysters were heaped on the beach within an enclosure and screened off. These oysters were not opened until the fishery was officially closed. Exposed to the tropical sun for weeks, their flesh putrified. At the end of the fishery, the oysters were put into canoes and washed, the pearls either settling at the bottom, or adhering to the shell. On decomposition of the flesh, some pearls drop off and mix with the sand. The " arippu rent " was the right to search for these pearls.

Arippu is a Tamil word meaning sifting. It is now used as a place-name.

22. The Dutch governor Baron van Imhoff in 1740 spoke of " the presence of more than 100,000 people in the country for more than two or three months." *Memoir* p. 54. The advertisement for the pearl fishery in 1829 stated that the government hoped to employ 200 boats and each boat carried 22/23 persons. J. Steurt, *An Account of the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon* pp. 41–4.

A further source of revenue was the stamp duty on cloth. All cloth sold in Jafinapatnam and Mannar had to be stamped[23] and the right to do this and collect the fee was farmed out to the highest bidder. This duty, called *renda da chapa* (stamp rent) also yielded considerable revenue, with few collection expenses.

These *regimentos* thus indicate what resources the Portuguese treasury at Mannar had at its command, but they do not enable us to estimate their total yield. Though we hear of a *casa dos contos* (counting house or office of exchequer) at Goa at which separate sets of account books in respect of individual forts and trading stations were presumably maintained, yet its records have not survived, and we are thus deprived of the only source from which further information might have been expected. Though this information is available in Bocarro's survey of the Portuguese *estado da India*, yet the particulars contained there were compiled about the year 1634, when the pearl fishery had not been held for thirty years. Deprived of the biggest single item of revenue at the command of the government at Mannar, the balance sheet it strikes is therefore inapplicable to the last two decades of the sixteenth century.

The Portuguese government at Mannar had to incur expenditure on the civil, military, and naval establishments, on a Catholic mission and on a hospital. The civil establishment consisted of the complement of officers usual to a fort-factory : the captain, the factor, the crown judge, the revenue secretary and a *meirinho*, an officer correspondingto a bailiff.[24] In accordance with the custom elsewhere, each of these had a number of men to attend on him and/or to carry out his orders, their number varying with the dignity of the office. The salaries and maintenance allowances paid to them were indicated in the *regimento*.

In contrast to the civil establishment, the military and naval establishments at Mannar were surprisingly large—certainly larger than were required for the purposes of its own defence. There was provision for a force of two hundred soldiers to be attached to the fort. In 1597 permission was granted to engage 100 *lascarins* in addition. Mannar also had a substantial fleet of ships, boats and *champanas*[25] and an adequate number of seamen—Portuguese and Asian—to man this fleet. The soldiers were paid the usual allowances—two quarterages a year, a maintenance allowance paid in rice and a curry—allowance paid in cash. The same allowances were paid to the sailors, who, if they were married, were also entitled to an additional allowance. The salary bill at Mannar was thus a heavy one.

Every Portuguese fort in the East had its chapel and resident chaplain, and this was the case in Mannar too. The allowance or *ordinaria* paid to clergymen came from government coffers, and so did the additional funds necessary to maintain the church and its services. These are detailed in the documents and consisted of the allowances on wine for the Mass, oil for the lamps, flour for the consecrated wafers and the fees for laundering. Though provision was made for only one clergyman in 1582, by 1597 the number seems to have increased and additional provision was made.

On account of the large number of Portuguese serving in Mannar or visiting the island, a hospital also had to be maintained there. It was run by the superintendent of the Holy House of Mercy,[26] but the government paid a grant of 300 *pardaos* towards its maintenance.

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23. " ..... every cloth which was handled in the course of trade ..... had to bear an official stamp..... A fee had to be paid for affixing this stamp and the right to collect this was sold as the *chapa renda* " P. E. Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jafanapatam* 1645, (Colombo 1944) p. 7.

24. In 1597, an interpreter and choristers were added.

25. *Lascarins* were soldiers of Asian origin.

A *champana* was a small boat or skiff. The word has entered the Sinhalese language and survives in a place-name (Hambantota) and in a word popularly used for the Moors (*hambayo*).

The usual strength of the fleet of vessels stationed at Mannar was six.

26. On this institution See C.R. Boxer. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire.* (London, 1969) pp. 286–295.

As the documents of 1582 and 1597 were the first *regimentos* issued for the Mannar fort, careful and detailed instructions on maintaining accounts, designed to minimise opportunities for fraud, were written into them. The instructions specifically cover the pearl-fishery, the purchase of supplies for the use of the port and the payment of the salaries and allowances of the military and naval personnel. The officer chosen as captain of the company of vessels sent to conduct the fishery had to be trustworthy ; he was to be sworn on the gospels to collect the government's dues honestly ; the owners of the fishing boats had to declare under oath the number of Moors and *gentios* serving as divers in each of their boats and these particulars had to be entered in a register and witnessed by three other high-ranking officers. On the conclusion of the fishery, the amount due to the government was to be recovered from the headmen of the fisherfolk, in the presence of the captain of the Mannar fort, and the other officers. The *regimento* of 1597 further tightened matters by adding the Jesuit rector at Mannar to the list of officers who had to be present during the fishery. At the *casa dos contos* (counting house), to which all records relating to the fishery had to be sent, there was a further check to ensure that all regulations had been duly observed.

The stringency of the regulations on the keeping of accounts during the pearl fishery is explained by its importance, revenue-wise, and the many opportunities for fraud it offered. Similar, but less strict, precautions were taken to prevent misappropriations on the purchase of supplies. All supplies were to be purchased by a board of three, consisting of the captain, the factor and the revenue-secretary at the Mannar factory. All sales, including the auctioning of elephants, were likewise to be held in the presence of these three officers. The office of the factor was to be kept open for three hours in the morning-from 7 a.m. to 10 a.m.-and for three hours in the afternoon, doubtless after the *siesta*. All rents collected were to be entered in a book and all rent-contracts entered into with revenue-farmers had to be similarly registered. Payments made by way of salaries had to be entered in another register, each recipient signing against his amount. Finally it was stated that the factor, before being allowed to relinquish office, must produce all account books kept by him during his period of office, and get himself cleared, presumably by the officers of the *casa dos contos*.

Mannar, it has been pointed out, was strategically placed between South India and Ceylon. It commanded both the gulf of Mannar and the Palk straits. As light craft plying between India and Ceylon preferred to gingerly pick their way among the shoals and sandbanks in this stretch of sea rather than take the circuitous route by sailing out into the open sea and round Ceylon, this stretch of sea was a busy waterway, during the non-monsoon period. If equipped with sufficient naval power, Mannar could control this traffic. The island therefore stood sentinel over the gulf of Mannar and the Palk straits. Portuguese documents of the periodrecognised this fact when they referred to Mannar as Ceylon's gullet (*garganta*). A firm grip, the use of this word implied, might make Ceylon gasp for breath, while a hard squeeze would lead to asphyxiation. The same idea of the importance of Mannar is contained in other Portuguese references to it as Ceylon's *chave* (key). That Mannar was a convenient point from which to influence, if not dominate, politics in Ceylon was demonstrated several times in the sixteenth century.

Troops drawn from the fort there were sent to reinforce Colombo when the Portuguese were hard-pressed in and after the days of Rajasinha I of Sitawaka (1581–1593).[27] The expedition to take Kandy on behalf of a Portuguese *protégé* set out from Mannar in the year 1586 or 1587. A second expedition in 1594 for the same purpose of winning the

27. JCBRAS vol. XX pp. 219–221, 236, 305 ; Queyroz pp. 414, 494.

Kandyan throne had at its head the princess Kusumasana Devi, better known as Dona Catherina, who had lived in Mannar for some ten years.[28] It was also from Mannar that André Furtado de Mendonça set out on an expedition to bring Jaffnapatnam under Portuguese control.[29] Any carelessness or collusion on the part of the authorities at Mannar, on the other hand, would be advantageous to the political forces hostile to the Portuguese, for aid from South India to toughen Kandyan resistance was often suspected to be coming through Mannar.[30] This strategic value of Mannar explains why large naval and military forces were stationed there. The troops there formed a central pool from which detachments could be made for any contingencies within the perimeter of its influence.

The two *regimentos* indicate how important as a base Mannar then was. A fleet of ships and *champanas* was permanently kept there for patrolling the seas. Prizes taken in the course of these patrols were to be brought back to the fort and then sold to the highest bidder. *Cartazes*[31] guaranteeing unhindered passage to their holders were to be issued by the authorities at Mannar to native shipmasters, subject to the usual conditions about prohibited goods and the payment of the prescribed fee. All such passports had to be registered in a separate book. Mannar was also a check-point for vessels carrying merchandise of Asian traders from Ceylon to India. Such vessels had to prove that their merchandise had paid duties to the Portuguese authorities in Ceylon, failing which they were required to pay 10% duty at Mannar. These vessels were checked also to ensure that they carried no cinnamon, one of the prohibited articles. If any cinnamon was found, all the merchandise in the vessel was forfeited, one-third of its value being paid as reward to the informant or to the person who made the seizure.

The Portuguese appear to have used Mannar as a base to bring several areas in the northern and eastern parts of Ceylon within their sphere of influence and to maintain the hold they already had over parts of the Madurai coast. Tangible evidence of their dominant position is found in the tribute they exacted from these areas. The promise to pay tribute, in some instances, was the outcome of the rulers of those areas being worsted in armed conflict with the Portuguese. Jaffnapatnam was a case in point. In other cases, where no evidence of armed conflict is available, a show of force by the Portuguese might have sufficed to exact recognition of Portuguese suzerainty. The tributes they exacted from Trincomalee and Batticaloa probably belong to this category.

The main item on the tribute list was that from the ruler of Jaffnapatnam—13,700 *fanam* or ten elephants in 1582. The dictated peace treaty imposing tribute on this ruler dates from the expedition of viceroy Constantino de Bragança in 1560.[32] When the next set of standing orders for Mannar was drawn up in 1597, the tribute had gone up by two elephants—a modest if bulky increase. This increase probably dated from 1591 in which year André Furtado de Mendonça had subjugated the kindom, killed its ruler and had put another in his place.

The Portuguese also collected tribute from Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Puttalam in Ceylon and Kilakarai, Vedalai and Kayalpattanam in South India. It is generally assumed—I certainly was under that impression—that the Portuguese spread their tentacles towards the east coast of Ceylon only in the 1620s, when the captain-general Constantino de Sa e Noronha built two forts in Batticaloa and Trincomalee, during his second period of office in Ceylon (1623-30). These two documents make it clear that they had made their presence felt in that region much earlier and that their power had so

28. Queyroz pp. 439, 445, 480, 706–707.

29. Queyroz pp. 449–450.

30. Doc. Rem. I p. 10; Pissurlencar, *Assentos* II p. 201.

31. *Cartazes* were passports issued to ships. The Portuguese refused to allow freedom of the seas in the east, and claimed a monopoly of the rights of navigation in these waters. Only those who had obtained passports from them were free from molestation.

32. Queyroz p. 371.

impressed the local chiefs as to make them buy them off with a promise of tribute. The chieftain at Batticaloa had to deliver 300 *amunas* of paddy a year, while the famous Koneswaram temple at Trincomalee, overlooking the sea (and therefore vulnerable to attack), paid 1280 *fanam* in cash. At both ports, the Portuguese were entitled to collect, duties on arecanut, probably brought overland from the Kandyan lands for export to India. It is therefore clear that, during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had established a right to obtain tribute and collect an export duty on arecanut at the two major ports of the east coast of Ceylon.

The Portuguese had chosen well the time for establishing their authority in this region. In the sixteenth century, the area was parcelled out among a number of chiefs, called *Vanniyas*, none of whom had enough resources to withstand Portuguese pressure. The king of Kotte claimed suzerainty over them, though it is unlikely that this claim was ever enforced after the death of Parakrama Bahu VI (died in 1467). In any case, in the 1580s that kingdom had ceased to exist, except in name, and its king, Dharmapala, was a *protégé* of the Portuguese. That ruler was therefore unlikely to object to the extension of Portuguese authority on the east coast. Indeed it is possible that it was the document executed by this king, making over to the Portuguese the rights that he had over the kingdom of Kotte, that gave them the courage to attempt to stake out a claim on that distant shore. The other power which might have objected to Portuguese presence there was Kandy. But that kingdom had been weakened by a struggle with the rulers of Kotte and Sitawaka during the mid-sixteenth century. When it failed in its attempt to walk a political tight-rope, without falling into the lap of either the Sitawaka or the Kotte kings, it sought to maintain its precarious position by leaning on the Portuguese.[33] This position of dependance was further emphasised when its ruler, Karalliyadde Bandara, sought refuge with the Portuguese about the year 1582. Thus the danger that the Kandyan kingdom might join issue with the Portuguese on the question of their outposts never arose. It was only with the coming into prominence of Rajasinha II in Kandy (1628–1687) that a forward policy was adopted towards the Portuguese by any Kandyan ruler, and a decade of war on the eastern seaboard (1629–1639) was the result.

The *regimento* of 1582 contains no reference to any dues paid by the inhabitants of Puttalam, but the document of 1597 says that a tribute of 400 bags of salt, nine *bahars* of dye-roots and four *maos* of bees' wax was due from them. It is clear, therefore, that Puttalam had meanwhile been brought under Portuguese authority. This must have taken place either during the political chaos that succeeded Rajasinha's death in 1593 or in 1591 when a revolt against him took place in the Seven *korales*, within which Puttalam fell.[34]

On the Madurai coast, the Portuguese drew tribute from Kilakarai, Vedalai, and Kayalpattanam. The inhabitants of Kilakarai had to pay each year four pearls of specified quality and weight, while those at Kayalpattanam delivered fifty chicken and ten sheep. The contribution made by the Moors of Vedalai was twenty *coros of chanks*.[35]

(II) Compared to the *regimentos* on Mannar, that on Ceylon, dated 30 September 1597, issued by the viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama, the count of Vidigueira[36] was a simpler and shorter document. It has only two points worthy of interest. The viceroy by it

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33. See the correspondence in Schurhammer and Voretzsch, *Ceylon zur Zeit des Konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Frans Xavers 1539–52* (Leipzig 1928) I Band pp. 175–84, 355–378 etc.

34. Queyroz p. 443.

35. *Chanks* (also called conch shells) are the hard shells of certain molluscs. These were blown on ceremonial occasions in eastern courts and during religious festivals in temples.

Coro is apparently the same as *corge, coorge*, an Indian term for a score. Though generally used in the selling and buying of cloth, the quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* show that the term was sometimes used in dealing with jewels, pearls and even sheep.

36. Viceroy from 25 May, 1957 to 25 December, 1600.

approved the regulations that Jorge Florim de Almeida, who had gone to the island earlier in the same year as *provedor da fazenda*, had made for the despatch of business at the customs houses in Ceylon, and the posts he had created for the purpose[37]. Secondly he confirmed the tax exemptions that Dharmapala, the king of Kotte, had granted to the Portuguese settlers. For the rest it itemized expenditure authorized for the fort the Portuguese had in Colombo. Even this information is incomplete ; it omitted to itemize the salaries paid to the captain-general, the army captains or the soldiers stationed in the island. Nor were any revenues indicated ; on the contrary, it contains positive evidence that the revenues, if collected, did not accrue to the royal treasury (*emquanto estas terras e portos se não cobrar o Rendimento delles*—so long as the revenues of these lands and ports are not collected). The probable explanation for this is that though the Portuguese had formally taken over the Kotte kingdom on the death of Dharmapala in May 1597, yet by September the same year they had had no time to organize the revenue collection there. Certainly the viceroy had not received any information on the revenue of Kotte, on which to base a comprehensive set of standing orders. This *regimento* therefore lamely followed the pattern of those issued when the Portuguese had only one fort–factory there. The document of 1597 therefore failed to take account of the increased political commitments of the Portuguese in Ceylon. the corresponding growth of their military establishment, the steep rise in expenditure or the new resources of revenue made available for exploitation. This document was therefore a relic of a past that was no more, and not a guide for the future.

37. What these regulations were is not known, for, as far as is known, these have not survived.

Codex 1419 (1596-1640) [38]

THIS volume contains two documents of interest to Ceylon. The first embodies the instructions, dated 29 September 1640, issued by the viceroy the conde de Aveiras[39] to Antonio Mirreles de Andrade who was taking supplies to the Portuguese in Ceylon. De Andrade was appointed to a post rather grandiloquently termed *Provedor e administrador dos socorros de ilha de Ceilao e o contratto de salitre em toda a Costa de pescaria, Tuticorim, Mannar e Jaffnapatam* (Purchasing officer and superintendent of aid to the island of Ceylon and the contract of saltpetre in all the fishery coast, Tuticorin, Mannar and Jaffnapatnam). His main job was to buy rice in South India and to arrange for its transport to Ceylon.

With the sum of five thousand *xerafims*[40] given to him, de Andrade was instructed to buy rice at its cheapest source, hire boats for its transport and men to guard the boats, and to deliver the rice to Ceylon with the least possible delay, in view of the grave situation in the island[41]. Though *regimentos* issued to officers taking supplies to Ceylon usually contain little beyond sailing instructions, the reference in de Andrade's standing orders to Ceylon's growing trade with the Madurai area in South India endows it with an importance lacking in others. This trade, according to copies of Portuguese documents available at the India Office Library in London had originated during the viceroyalty of the count of Linhares.[42] He had entered into a contract with the *naik* of the principality of Madurai to exchange elephants from Ceylon for all the saltpetre that his principality could produce. By this agreement, which was negotiated and concluded by Sebastião Rodriguez Pessanha, *Ouvidor* of Negapattanam, the *naik* promised to deliver at Tuticorin saltpetre priced at twenty-five *xerafims* a *bahar*, and accept in exchange Ceylon elephants three cubits in height priced at 120 *pardaos* a cubit and delivered to the same port.[43] There was at this time a shortage of saltpetre for use in India was well as in Portugal[44] and Madurai was one of its principal producers. The Portuguese authorities therefore had reason to congradulate themselves on concluding this agreement.

The count of Aveiras asked de Andrade to take all possible steps to ensure that this profitable line of trade with Madurai was continued and developed. Aveiras also gave him a letter to be delivered personally to the *naik*. Following customary diplomatic practice in India, the letter was enclosed in a golden wrapping. A present from the viceroy to

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38. Note that this codex overlaps with the previous one.

39. Viceroy from September, 1640 to December, 1645.

40. The value of the *xerafim*—a coin widely used in the east in the 16th and 17th centuries—varied from area to area. Generally it was equivalent in value to 300 Portuguese *reis* or one *pardao* or three Ceylon *larins*. The authoritative work on the subject is H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo 1924).

41. See below, p. 12.

42. Viceroy from October, 1629 to December, 1635.

43. India Office Library, Portuguese Transcripts, *Livros das Monções*, *Livro* 30 f. 59; *livro* 32 f. 156. The *bahar* was defined as consisting of ten maunds and two *cozeduras*. The prices quoted were in terms of Madurai currency. It was also stated that 120 Madurai *pardaos* were equivalent to 200 Goa *xerafims*. See also paragraph 55 of appendix III.

44. As early as 1617, the king of Portugal had passed a provision enjoining that "...in the ships that are leaving for India now, and in those which each year will be sent to those parts hereafter, the greatest possible quantity of saltpetre should be shipped to this kingdom...." BM Addl. Ms. 20,892 f. 226 a. See also Goa, codex 1164 f. 80 v. In England too, saltpetre was regarded as essential to the "defence of the realm" from the time of Elizabeth I to that of William and Mary. C. T. Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies* (London 1913) pp. lviii, lxv, 234.

the *naik* accompanied the letter. Most subsequent *regimentos* issued to officers whose work took them to Ceylon or South India, it may be noted here, contained instructions to promote this trade between Ceylon and Madurai.[45]

(II) The second document of interest to us in this codex is a set of standing orders[46] dated the first of October 1640 issued by the same viceroy, the count of Aveiras, to the new captain-general of Ceylon, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas (1640–45).

Mascarenhas was appointed at a time which was critical for the Portuguese in Ceylon. In May, 1638 Batticaloa had fallen before the combined onslaught of Rajasinha II of Kandy and the Dutch batteries under the command of Adam Westerwolt. A year later, Trincomalee too fell and the Portuguese thereby lost the uneasy perch they had had on the eastern seaboard. In February, 1640 Negombo and in March the same year the important fortress of Galle also fell into Dutch hands.[47] By October, 1640 there was therefore a fear among the Portuguese that before many months had elapsed Ceylon would slip from their grasp. The preamble to the standing orders summarised the Portuguess position in masterly fashion : "..... *considerando o grande aperto em que se acha a cidade de Columbo e Ilha de Ceilam com a guerra que por mar e terra lhe tem movido os olandeses e chingalas, e perda das fortalezas de Baticalou Triquilemale, Nigumbo e gale...* " (..." considering the grave danger wherein the city of Colombo and the island of Ceylon find themselves in with the war that by sea and land the Dutch and the Sinhalese have waged against them and the loss of the forts of Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Negombo and Galle... ").

How grave the Portuguese viceroy considered the situation in Ceylon to have been is clear from one point in the instructions: D. Felipe Mascarenhas was to make sure, before he passed Cape Comorin on his way to Ceylon, that Colombo had not already fallen. He was also told that he has been specially chosen for the difficult job in view of his previous experience in the island[48]. He was given 300 Portuguese soldiers and a quantity of ammunition to take with him.

Since the Portuguese in Ceylon were actually at war, the Goa authorities yielded on one question which had become a sore point between Goa and Ceylon: the continuation of the office of *vedor da fazenda* or superintendent of revenue. With the creation of this office and its assumption by Antão Vaz Freire, its first occupant, in 1609, there had developed a war of attrition between the captain-general and the superintendent. Antão Vaz Freire and his successors had sought to obtain control over government expenditure, in keeping with their instructions. This inevitably meant control over executive policy which was within the competence of the captain-general. Under almost every captain-general, but particularly under Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo (1594–1612), Constantino de Sa e Noronha, (1618–22 and 1623–30) and Diogo de Mello de Castro (1633–35 and 1636–38) serious conflicts had developed between the two officers, with their subordinates usually taking one side or the other[49]. Every captain-general therefore sought to have the office of *vedor da fazenda* suppressed, or at least the powers of its incumbent reduced. Now because of the continued threat from the Dutch-Kandyan alliance, the office was considered dispensable : " *Visto como a guerra tem alterado as cousas em forma que parece desnecessario haver por ora veedor da fazenda em Ceilam, Hey por bem que o não haja, e que o feitor da Sua*

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45. For example, in codex 1419 ff. 7—8 ; codex 1420 ff. 54a, 183.

46. Ff. 6a—8v of codex 1419.

47. K. W. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638—53*, (Amsterdam 1958) pp. 17, 28, 32, 37.

48. He had already held the post of captain-general in Ceylon during the years 1630—31, though not to the entire satisfaction of the Goa authorities.

49. On the conflict in Azevedo's day, see *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594—1612* pp. 86—89, by the present writer. Evidence about conflicts under later captains-general is found in Goa, codex 14 f. 26 ; codex 15 f. 334 a ; codex 27 f. 99 v; India Office Library, Portuguese Transcripts, *Livros das Monções*, livro 44 f. 228 and in Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* (Supplementary series) vol. I pp. 103—4.

The subject is also discussed in C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617—1638*, pp. 163—167.

Magestade corra com as despezas na forma de seu regimento " (" Seeing how the war has changed matters to that extent that for the time being a *vedor de fazenda* appears unnecessary, I decree that there be none, and that His Majesty's factor proceed with the expenses according to his standing orders). The suspension of the office was, however, temporary, for in May, 1645 we hear that André Simões was holding the office of Superintendent of revenue in Ceylon. Five years later, João Pereira deça was appointed to the same post.[50] It is clear, therefore, that with the conclusion of the truce with the Dutch in November 1644 the original reason for the suspension of the office was no longer deemed to hold good.

The instructions given to Dom Felipe Mascarenhas repeat almost *verbatim* those issued to Antonio Mirreles de Andrade on the need to maintain and promote the trade with the *naik* of Madurai. This is not surprising as the two sets of orders were drawn up within two days of each other and as de Andrade went in the same fleet as the captain-general.

One point emphasised in the document followed from the Portuguese interpretation of the outcome of the battle for the possession of the fort at Galle. When a Dutch force under Coster landed at Galle in March, 1640 and dug themselves in, the defending Portuguese, who were not hopelessly outnumbered, chose to attack and came out of the fort. This did not appear to be a rash step, for the Portuguese dislodged the Dutch from their trenches and captured their artillery. Then, when the battle seemed to be ending favourably for the Portuguese, their captain-major, Francisco de Mendonça Manoel, was killed by a stray bullet. The Portuguese soldiers, who were now without a commanding officer broke and fled. In the Portuguese view, this was the critical event which gave the fort to the Dutch[51]. It followed from this that provision should be made so that if in future a commanding officer were to fall, succession would be automatic and instant. The captain-general was therefore asked to ensure that, as the fortunes of battle were so variable, clear and definite orders as to the succession in any eventuality were laid down. This instruction is repeated in subsequent standing orders issued to new captains-general.[52]

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50. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* III p. 91. Pereira deça's *regimento* is discussed later in this work, see p. 27

51. For this interpretation, see Fernão de Queyroz, The *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, (Colombo 1930) pp. 835—836.

52. For example, in codex 1422 ff. 69 a, 96 a.

Codex 1420 (1636-1640)[53]

THIS volume contains over twenty *regimentos* relating to Ceylon, and is therefore the richest among the codices in this series for material on the island. A good number of these are standing orders for captains taking reinforcements and supplies to the island, but three of the documents in this volume are of the greatest interest to the student of Ceylon history.

(I) The first of these is a set of standing orders[54] that the viceroy Pero da Silva[55] issued to Antonio de Fonsequa who was going out to Ceylon to succeed Amauro Roiz as *vedor da fazenda*. This document—dated the 13th of September 1636—is only partially legible and the edges of the pages are torn or faded. But the general drift of its meaning is clear and its contents are of the greatest importance.

The new *vedor* was enjoined to discharge his duties on the lines of the instructions issued to Antão Vaz Freire, the first superintendent,[56] and his successors. Neither the captain-general nor the board of revenue,[57] it was emphasised, had the power to override these instructions. It is therefore clear that each set of instructions was not regarded as individual to the officer to whom it was issued, but that, unless any provision in it was specifically repealed, it formed, together with the previous instructions, a corpus of orders and instructions, which bound all future occupants of the same office.

On his arrival in Ceylon, Antonio de Fonsequa was ordered to hand over to the factor the ammunition and the money that he was taking with him and to load the ships returning to Goa with cinnamon. The viceroy instructed him that these ships must leave Ceylon for Goa before the 26th of November. The reason for the hurry, though not given in the document, is not hard to guess: thunderstorms and gales in the gulf of Mannar were known to develop in early December, rendering sailing very dangerous.

From 1615, the production and export of cinnamon had become a royal monopoly. But the monopoly could at no time be effectively enforced. The abundance of the spice, the availability of labour to prepare it for export and the ready money its sale yielded made the illicit production and exportation of the commodity a favourite and profitable pastime for the Portuguese settlers and for officials in search of quick money. Ceylon cinnamon, it was alleged, was reaching the Dutch at Pulicat, the Danes at Tranquebar and the Bengal and the Middle East markets, through unauthorized channels.[58] The *vedor* was asked to keep a strict check on fast *dhoneys* plying from Colombo to Jaffna and Mannar to ensure that they carried on cinnamon. The cinnamon producing areas also were to be kept under close surveillance.

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53. Note that this codex also overlaps with the preceding one.

54. On ff. 2 v-8a.

55. Viceroy from December 1635 to June 1639.

56. His *regimento* is reproduced in this monograph as appendix 1A.

57. The board of revenue (*mesa e junta da fazenda*) set up in 1614 consisted of the captain-general, the superintendent of revenue and the bishop of Cochin. The captain of Colombo was to serve on it whenever the bishop or the general could not be present. In 1619 the king of Portugal added the guardian of the Franciscan convent in Colombo as an additional member. See also p. 38.

58. Goa, codex 15 f. 334; codex 29 f. 90a; codex 1416 f. 12v; codex 2358 f. 161a; Pissurlencar, *Assentos* II p. 162.

An even more important provision in the *regimento* was the order to prevent the ill-treatment and exploitation of service-groups in Ceylon. The Kotte kings in the sixteenth century had a well-developed system of service-groups, usually, though not invariably, based on caste, for the peeling of cinnamon, the mining of precious stones, the collection and sale of arecanut, and the capture and taming of wild elephants. Each group held the king's land, for which it paid not axes, but instead gave its services free to the state. Each group, called a *badda*, was under an officer called the *vidana*.[59] With the end of the Sinhalese dynasty and the succession of the Portuguese, there was a visible weakening of central authority over the *vidanas*, who found themselves gaining greater powers and increased opportunities of personal gain.[60] They increased the services and/or the quotas of commodities due from the people in the *baddas* under their charge, but did not pass the increase over to the treasury, thus appropriating it for themselves.

An example drawn from the document under discussion will make the extent of this abuse clear. Arecanut was in the 16th and 17th centuries measured in terms of *amunas*, an *amuna* containing 28,000 nuts. The *vidana* of Bulatgama, who had charge of its collection under the Portuguese, began demanding 32,000, but continued to deliver over to the government at the former rate. From each *amuna* collected, therefore, he had a " perk " of 4,000 nuts. The *vidana* of the cinnamon department likewise increased the contribution from each peeler and thereby made a profit for himself.

In the days of the Sinhalese kingdom, the people would have reacted to officialdom's exactions by appealing to the king and appeal to the king was their ultimate weapon this side of rebellion. This right of appeal existed even under the Portuguese, for we have evidence that Jeronimo de Azevedo set up at Malvana the equivalent of the *mahanaduwa*, the court of justice at which the king himself had dispensed justice. But its presence did not now deter the officials for the higher officials protected those under them in order that they themselves might be similarly protected.

Overt popular reaction to official exploitation set in from the 1630s. There is definite evidence that during that decade the subjects were becoming increasingly conscious of their grievances, and were beginning to articulate them. Whereas earlier any grievances they might have had were looked upon as individual problems, now the very widespread nature of the abuses affecting all groups, made their grievances collective, calling for collective action. To present matters before the authorities in the form of a memorial was the first step towards a remedy. As this was a measure wholly without precedent in Ceylon's long history, it is almost certain that the inspiration came not from the island's history, but from a member of the Catholic clergy in Ceylon. The petition submitted to the captain-general Diogo de Mello de Castro in 1636 was the result.[61]

Some inkling of the new temper of the people found its way to Goa and Pero da Silva was moved to action. One clause in this *regimento* expressed the viceroy's concern: " *....os vidanas de Mabada de canella, das agras, areca, elefantes ....sou informado que fazem muitas tyranias aos naturais....impondo lhe outros de novo....* " ("....I am informed that the *vidanas* of the Mahabadda of cinnamon, of mines, arecanut and elephants exercise tyranny

59. *Vidana* is from Sanskrit *vidh*, to administer, govern, or rule.

60. The reasons for this weakening of central authority are discussed in Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon*, pp.81-82.

61. Reproduced in Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (Colombo 1930), pp. 1009—20.

on the natives, imposing new (burdens) on them....) That the viceroy was also worried about possible political repercussions is clear from his further comment that the readiness with which the Sinhalese rose against the Portuguese was due to these exactions, in addition of course to the natural faithlessness of the Sinhalese !

Another matter to which Pero da Silva turned his attention was private trading among Portuguese officials in Ceylon. Private trading among them in Ceylon seems to have been as widespread as trading in salt was in India among the officials of the East India Company in the days of Clive. All officials from the captain-general downwards were engaged in the trade, though not the production, of arecanut. The areca palm flourished wild or as a garden crop in the wet zone. The Portuguese government following, it seems, the government of the Sinhalese kings of the Kotte and the Sitawaka dynasties, bought this crop from the producers at a price fixed by itself. Following government practice, the government officials also began demanding arecanut from the producers at the rates paid by the government. The villager had no redress, and the captain-general too was in the business. The demand for the commodity was so heavy that often the villagers had to go to the Kandyan lands and buy it at a price higher than that which they themselves were paid. Sometimes arecanut was also demanded from villagers in areas where the palm was not grown, as in the dry zone villages. These practices had been sanctioned by some forty years of usage since the assumption of authority by the Portuguese, and no viceroy had dared to stop them. Pero da Silva was willing to try to stop at least the worst excesses ; he ordered that no arecanut should be demanded from areas where there were no palms and that five *larins*[62] be paid for each *amuna*, in cash, salt or cloth. However, even this payment was inadequate, for the market price of an *amuna* at the time was about three times the price he suggested.

After the conflict between the captains-general and the superintendents of revenue in the 1630s, the Goa authorities seem to have hardened on the question of the respective jurisdictions of the two officials. " By many and much duplicated orders of His Majesty.... you are independent of the captain-general in the administration of your charge and in all things pertaining to revenue you will have to proceed by your orders and *olas*[63] in the same way as the captain-general proceeds in [matters pertaining to] war " runs the *regimento* issued to Antonio de Fonsequa. He was further required to ask the captain-general to have this order about his jurisdiction proclaimed throughout the Portuguese territories. This, it is seen in retrospect, was the high-water mark of the powers of the *vedor da fazenda*.

The independence of the superintendent was short-lived, however. The question was reopened when in January 1636 the king of Portugal referred some representations he had received from the captain-general in Ceylon, Diogo de Mello de Castro, to Goa for discussion and decission.

Diogo de Mello had complained to the king that in former times public documents emanating from the revenue authorities had been issued by the captain-general, but that recently the superintendent had begun issuing orders on his own authority. This, he felt, was in diminution of the captain-general's authority in the eyes of the native population, who regarded him as their king and addressed him as His Highness. Such diminution of authority and status, he argued, was prejudicial to the security and the maintenance of Portuguese power in the island.

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62. The *larin* was the coin referred to as *ridi* in Sinhalese documents of the period. A *larin* was equal to twenty *fanam*.

63. *Ola* was the Portuguese word for palm leaf. By extension, it came to mean any official document as these were, in the days of the Sinhalese rules, most commonly written on palm leaves. Whether the Portuguese actually used palm leaves as writing material is not known.

The council of state in Goa met in March, 1637, to consider these representations. It accepted Diogo de Mello's contention and decided that in future the *vedor* should apply to the captain-general to issue any official orders that might become necessary in revenue matters and that the captain-general should immediately comply.[64] This was a retreat from the position visualised in Antonio de Fonsequa's *regimento*, and to that extent, was a victory for the captain-general. But it did not concede all that Diogo de Mello had hoped to obtain. In November, 1634, he had written to Portugal that the superintendent had become almost the equal of the captain-general and that his position should be downgraded and made subordinate to that of the general. He also suggested that the salary of that officer should be reduced to 1000 *xerafims*.[65] As these suggestions were not acted upon, the general's victory was not as complete as he might have wished.

It was only after Diogo de Mello's death that the move to downgrade the post of *vedor* achieved success, and then not because of the stength of the representations made by the political officials in Ceylon, but owing to the serious threat posed by the Dutch after 1640. This threat made it necessary to gather total power into the hands of the captain-general, and therefore, in the *regimento* issued to Dom Felipe Mascarenhas on the first of October, 1640, the post of superintendent was suspended. When it was resuscitated later, no attempt was made to make the holder of that office independent of the captain-general, as was done in 1636. The pendulum had oscillated between almost total power for the captain-general, as in the days of Jeronimo de Azevedo and Constantino de Sa e Noronha, and complete independence for the *vedor*, as in the *regimento* of Antonio de Fonsequa, now it had come to rest at a point determined by the council of state in Goa in March, 1637. As there was only about a decade left for the Portuguese to rule in Ceylon, it was unlikely that there were any significant changes during the period.

Another problem to which Pero da Silva turned his attention in the *regimento* was the promotion of agriculture in the territories under the conrol of the Portuguese. This is all the more interesting because the efforts made by the Dutch to develop agriculture in Ceylon are well-known to historians while those by the Portuguese are not mentioned even in passing. This is partly due to the fact that the latter became interested in agricultural development only during the last two decades of their rule in Ceylon, when they scarcely had the time to formulate, much less to implement, their schemes. It is also partly due to the fact that the Goa records have not been studied with the care given to Dutch sources.[66]

Portuguese interest in agriculture derived from a practical reason : a grave shortage of rice for the Portuguese garrisons in Ceylon. Many documents, from as early as the 1590s, refer to the need to import rice from India.[67] Dependence on India for rice carried grave political risks, particularly in times of war or rebellion. In 1630, for example, after the *débâcle* of Constantino de Sa's Uva invasion, the citizens of Colombo wrote to Goa that it was the insufficiency of rice that had hit them the hardest.[68] Portuguese efforts to promote agriculture, it would therefore seem, derive from the same roots as the Dutch efforts.

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64. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* II p. 163.
See also C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617—1638* pp. 165—6.

65. Goa, codex 27 f. 98a.
The superintendent was entitled to a salary of 2960 *xerafims*. Goa, codex 1166 f. 221a.

66. The only Ceylonese scholar to have used the Goa archives was the late Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera, but his main interest was missionary history.

67. Goa, codex 16 f. 337a; codex 1161 f. 114a; codex 25 (no folio numbers); *Documentos Remettidos* V pp. 239, 242, 299. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* I pp. 298, 303 ; India Office Library, Portu. Trans. vol.72 f. 281.

68. "...*me dizem e escrevem todos de Columbo que a falta de arros he o que mor guerra oie nos faz*...." the count of Linhares writing to the king. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* vol.I, p. 528.

Rice in Ceylon was not in short supply because cultivable land was hard to come by. Indeed the viceroy had heard that vast tracts of land were lying uncultivated two or three leagues from Colombo. Land lying between Mutwal and Negombo,[69] certain parts of the Alutkuru *korale*, and a large uncultivated area bounded by Wattala, Kelaniya and Ruwanwella were specifically mentioned.[70] He requested the *vedor* to inspect these lands and report on their suitability for the cultivation of rice.

That the Sinhalese are by nature a lazy people is a myth with a long history. Certainly the Portuguese believed it. Viceroy Pero da Silva says that the reason for these lands lying uncultivated was the shortage of cultivators "..... for the Sinhalese are by nature people of little work ; by habit, if they have sufficient to eat for one day, they will not work for the next day " ("..... *pellos chingalas por natureza ser gente de pouco trabalho*..... *por custume tendo de comer para hum dia nao trabalharão para a outro*..... " [71]His remedy for this—the shortage of cultivators and not the laziness of the Sinhalese—was to plant a colony of *curumbins*, the agricultural people of Goa and the neighbouring islands, and set them up as rice-growers in Ceylon.

The viceroy's proposal that state-aided immigration and settlement of Indians was the solution to problems in Ceylon was not a new idea. Similar proposals had been made earlier in the same century as a solution to the shortage of troops for the conquest of Kandy as well as tillage of the soil.[72] But those schemes failed to get off the ground for the simple reason that the prospective colonists were unwilling to leave their homes for a new country. Even Pero da Silva's scheme does not seem to have been immediately taken up or implemented, for ten years later, in 1646, the revenue council in Goa revived it—giving more thought to all the implications than had been the case earlier. As in 1636, the Goa authorities thought in terms of a colony of *curumbins*, to be settled near the estuary of the Kelani river, the reference again being to Muturajawela. The council pointed out that the land available was extensive enough for the settlement of the *curumbins en bloc*—it was anxious not to scatter the colonists throughout the Portuguese territories, for fear that the Portuguese settlers and landholders would lay claim to their services. It was also noted that the land to be settled was crown property, and that although parts of this area had been granted to a Portuguese named Manoel Pacheco by captain-general Constantino de Sa, yet the grantee had failed to develop the land and the crown was therefore justified in resuming possession. To obviate any claims that private parties might make once the scheme of settlement was under way, it was recommended that six months' notice be given for any claimants to present their titles to the land, after which period no claims were to be entertained.

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69. The reference here is certainly to Muturajawela.

70. The viceroy seems to refer here to the large marshy and water-logged tracts lying to the north and north-east of Colombo.

71. It is interesting to note here that the easy-going Iberian's comment was the same as that of Robert Knox, with his Puritan ethic of the virtues of hard work. Cf. "For the Chingulays are naturally, a people given to sloth and laziness : if they can but any ways live, they abhor to work ; only what their necessities force them to, they do, that is, to get Food and Raiment." *An Historical Relation of Ceylon* (1911 edition) p. 51. It should be noted here that the alleged laziness of the Sinhalese, even if true, was only part of the explanation for the lands lying uncultivated. The more important reason was the decline of population in the Portuguese territories, almost from the beginning of the 17th century. Azevedo noted that the villages were getting depopulated ; the Portuguese *tombo* compiled during 1613—15 confirms this observation, in 1619 a former captain-general of Ceylon reported that villages in Ceylon were depopulated and laid waste ; in 1625 Domingo Carvalho Cao stated that of the three hundred villages in the Pasdun *korale*, as many as 200 were in jungle and the home of the wild elephant.

Bocarro, *Decada* XIII p. 275 ; Doc. Rem. v p. 54 ; Ajuda archives, doc. 51-VIII-40 ; AHU codice 221 ff. 15 b, 36b. AHU codice 484 ff.4a, 7a, 21b, etc.

72. Doc. Rem. v pp. 261-62.

Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon* p. 59.

These measures represented only the negative aspect of the council decision. On the positive side, it decided that the preliminary expenses in settling the *curumbins* should be met out of government funds. These were, first the payment of a maintenance allowance to the colonists until their first harvest in the new homeland had been gathered in, and secondly, for the government to supply the colonists with the basic items of farming equipment, such as buffaloes, ploughs and other agricultural implements. It was also decided that when the colonists had become established, they should enjoy the produce of their lands free of any due for a specified period, after which only the quit-rent at the customary rate was to be demanded from them.[73] Though not specifically mentioned, free passage for the settler and his family was also to be provided by the government.

The scheme of state-aided immigration and colonization mooted by the Portuguese in the 1640s has several features in common with two such schemes later in Ceylon's history : that by the British in recruiting indentured labour from South India to work the coffee plantations in the 19th century, and that undertaken by the government of Ceylon in our own day to develop the dry zone areas of Ceylon by promoting internal migration. But apart from providing a precedent, the Portuguese scheme does not seem to have produced any result. The proceedings of the council of revenue, which is the only source available to us on this question, speak of the *curumbin* immigrants as " now going " (*que ora vão*). But even if they made the journey to Ceylon, two factors must have vitiated their pioneering efforts. In 1652, six years after the discussions in the council at Goa, the Dutch-Portuguese colonial struggle in Asia was resumed, and fighting soon broke out for the possession of Colombo, just six miles from the proposed area of colonization. As the Portuguese were expelled from the west coast of Ceylon in 1656, it is clear that their colonizing efforts even if they had overcome any preliminary teething troubles had had no time to produce worthwhile results.

The second factor was, if anything, even more important. That Muturajawela should lie uncultivated was not due to the laziness of the Sinhalese alone. The area was—and still is, a marsh, subject to seepage of salt water from the neighbouring sea, and no strain of seed paddy able to withstand salinity was known then and none has yet been developed. The Dutch, the British and the government of independent Ceylon have all attempted—and have failed—to reclaim the land for cultivation. The colonization scheme that the Portuguese authorities had conceived in their arm-chairs in Goa, without adequate surveys on the field, was, therefore, doomed before it was conceived.

In 1614 the Portuguese authorities in Ceylon had decided that pepper cultivation should be encouraged and ordered that as from 1619 Portuguese allottees of land should pay to the government one-third of the quit-rent due on their allotments in pepper. For this objective to have been achieved, the co-operation of the villager was vital, for the Portuguese allottees were not farmers, but only absentee landlords. But the Sinhalese cultivators fought shy of planting pepper, for had they done so, they would only have opened themselves to many exactions on pepper, like those that they were already subject to on arecanut. Pero da Silva, the viceroy, asked the superintendent to go into the question and report any suggestions he had to promote the crop in Ceylon.

The *regimento* issued by Pero da Silva to Antonio de Fonsequa contains an indirect tribute to the Ceylonese craftsmen, iron-smelters in this particular case. He says that great quantities of what would appear to be iron is found in Goa, but that no test had been made.[74] Some samples handed over to the *vedor* were to be tested by Ceylonese '*mestres*', and if the material was found to be iron, three or four master-craftsmen from Ceylon were to be sent over to Goa to instruct the Goanese. Ceylon was then in a position to export technical know-how.

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73. Goa, codex 1164 ff. 164a-165a.

74. The Goa and the Konkani regions have substantial deposits of iron ore and magnetite sands Spate, *India and Pakistan* (London 1954) p. 264.

It is generally true to say that the Portuguese preferred not to introduce new taxes. A statement in the minutes of the council of revenue in Goa admirably sums up their general policy ; " . *sem innovar cousa alguma do modo em que ategora se corria pellos Reis daquelle Reino ate Sua Senhoria ordenar outra cousa* "[75]. .(not innovating anything in the manner in which the kings of that kingdom have been proceeding until His Lordship [the viceroy] should order otherwise). But there were a few exceptions to this policy and de Fonsequa's *regimento* furnishes two instances. In other Portuguese possessions, there was an excise on tobacco, but not in Ceylon. In the 1630s, Ceylon was brought into line. In March, 1635, the Goa authorities had decided, in accordance with royal instructions received in the time of the count of Vidigueira[76], but not until then implemented, that the right to sell tobacco in Colombo should be rented out to the highest bidder[77]. In September next year they decided to introduce an excise on tobacco sold in Jaffna, along with another on what the document calls *vinho de jagra.*[78] De Fonsequa had instructions to implement this decision.

Among the other matters the viceroy mentions in the standing orders are the question of the seed-pearl fishery, better fortification for Mannar and Negombo, the payment of allowances to the clergy at Jaffna and the need to complete the Jaffna *tombo* early.

(II) The second document I have selected for discussion from codex 1420 is undoubtedly the most important one in the whole series of *Regimentos e Instrucções*, as far as Ceylon is concerned. This was issued to another *vedor da fazenda* going out to Ceylon, Diogo Mendes de Brito, and is dated the 3rd and the 8th of February, 1639. It is a lengthy document, running to sixty-seven paragraphs and is much better preserved than the previous one we discussed. So detailed is the information it provides on Ceylon, its products and its revenues that it has seemed proper to reproduce the document in full and attempt a translation. (See appendices IIIA and IIIB).

Although Diogo Mendes de Brito carried what must have been the longest and most detailed *regimento* ever issued to an officer going to Ceylon, he did not hold the post long, for in October, 1640, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas carried instructions to suspend the office of *vedor da fazenda*, and by November Diogo Mendes had been relieved of his post.[79] The *regimento* thereupon lapsed. The importance of the document lies in the wealth of information it provides, and the insight it gives us on what was thought in Goa about Ceylon. As a blue-print for action in Ceylon, it had no influence whatsoever.

(III) After a discussion of the instructions carried by two superintendents, it is time to turn our attention to a set of standing orders issued to a captain-general. For this I select the *regimento* dated 25 February, 1640, given by Antonio Telles de Menezes, the governor of Goa,[80] to Dom Bras de Castro, chosen to succeed Dom Antonio Mascarenhas (1639–40) as captain-general in Ceylon.[81]

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75. Goa, codex 1159 f. 145a. This policy was laid down for Jaffna, soon after its occupation in 1619. As a statement of their general taxation policy in Ceylon, it is not wide of the mark.

76. Viceroy, December, 1622 to March, 1628.

77. Goa, codex 1162 ff. 154v-155a. This decision was implemented, for a document dated 20 March, 1646 tells us that Lourenço Teixeira was the "*rendeiro de tabaco*". British Museum, Addl. Manuscripts, 20,877 f. 24v.

78. Goa, codex 1162 f. 210v.

Vinho de jagra (jaggery wine) probably stands for arrack, the right to distil and sell which is even now rented out by the government. That it was certainly so in Jaffna in 1645 is clear from Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jafanapatam* p. 9.

79. India Office Library, Portuguese Transcripts, vol. 74 f. 86. See also pp. 12-13 of this study.

80. October, 1639—September, 1640.

81. Goa, codex 1420 ff. 195-99.

Dom Bras de Castro however did not hold the post for which he was elected, and the reasons are given in Queyroz, pp. 853-54. Among the highlights of Dom Bras's later career were the charges preferred against him for grave dereliction of duty and his leadership of the *putsch* which deposed the viceroy, the count of Obidos, in October, 1653. After the *putsch* he was the governor in Goa for two years.

It will be noted that two sets of standing orders had been issued to captains-general in Ceylon in the year 1640—one dated 25, February and the other dated 1 October (issued to Dom Felipe Mascarenhas).[82] But the two *regimentos* are very different in their contents and instructions—that issued to Dom Bras being the fuller and more helpful. Why two sets of orders, given within eight months of each other to two officers going to do the same job and face the same kind of problems should differ so significantly from each other, it is not easy to explain. It is certainly true that by the time the second document was drawn up, the position of the Portuguese had worsened, for both Galle and Negombo had meanwhile fallen to the Dutch. But the differences between the two documents do not derive from this change in political fortunes. We are therefore left with only one fact—Dom Bras's *regimento* was the work of Antonio Telles de Menezes, the governor, while the latter document was the work of the count of Aveiras, who had reached Goa in the last week of September, 1640. Should we be charitable and say that the new viceroy, having arrived but a few days previously, had not yet found his feet? Or should we say that Antonio Telles de Menezes could draw upon his wide experience in the *Estado da India* and give Dom Bras de Castro a set of useful instructions, without hiding behind a set of vague generalisations ? [83]

By way of preamble, Antonio Telles de Menezes draws attention to the precarious position of the Portuguese in Ceylon, threatened by the Dutch and the Sinhalese, and pays Dom Bras the tribute of saying that he was chosen in this difficult hour in view of his many qualities and great experience. Five paragraphs towards the end of the document-probably included at the last minute on the receipt of disturbing news from Ceylon—deal with the threat posed by the Dutch. In January, 1640 several Dutch ships had made their appearance before Kammala at the mouth of the Deduru Oya, a few miles from Negombo, and had disembarked their troops. By 25 February the news had been conveyed to Goa and Dom Bras was therefore required to hurry his departure, sail direct to Ceylon and take such measures as he deemed necessary to ward off the Dutch threat to the western seaboard.[84]

The second paragraph in the document states that the conversion of sould was one of the most important objectives of the king of Portugal and the captain general ought not to lose any opportunity be might have of furthering this objective, by every means in his power. He was, in particular, to extend his co-operation to the missionary orders.

Though every viceroy or governor at Goa was interested in promoting conversion, it was but rarely that this was specifically put down in writing in the instructions issued to officials in Ceylon. Besides Dom Bras's *regimento*, only one other—that issued by Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo to Manoel Mascarenhas Homem (1614–16)—is known to touch on this.[85] In view of the dominant position accorded to the evangelical motive in Portuguese overseas activity, this seems surprising. The reason for the omission is probably to be found in the Portuguese attitude that winning converts for Christ was universally known to be the *raison d'être* of their expansion overseas, and consequently there was no need to specifically mention it. It was the unstated major premise in their expansion overseas.

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82. See *supra* p. 12.

83. The assumption here is that the *regimentos* were, by and large, the work of the governor or the viceroy and that the contribution of any other official in Goa was negligible.

84. By the time this *regimento* was drawn up, however, the Dutch had already captured Negombo. K. W. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon*, p. 32.

85. See appendix II page 48. Also Bocarro, *Decada XIII* p. 274.

After touching on religion, Antonio Telles turns to the problem that had also engaged the attention of Pero da Silva, his predecessor, the economic oppression of the native population and the consequent restlessness among them. His solution was to abstract the captain-general away from the interlocking bureaucracy of officials and set him up, as it were, on a higher pedestal, in supervision over them. It was a widely held view at the time and most official documents stated the doctrine in some form or other—that the captain-general should act as a sort of father-figure—one who protected the poor, much oppressed native population from the unjust and corrupt officials.

The first indication of the emergence of this view of the captain-general's role is, as far as I know, in the *regimento* that the viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo issued to Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, captain-general in Ceylon from 1614 to 1616.[86] The enunciation of such a doctrine by Azevedo was not without irony, for he more than any other captain-general in Ceylon, was regarded in popular legend as a blood-thirsty villain. However this may be, Azevedo did warn Mascarenhas Homem that Portuguese officials—he particularly stressed the lawlessness of the soldiers—were oppressing the natives and that the territories were consequently becoming depopulated. He expected the captain-general to curb the unruly officials and soldiers. In the same vein, Antonio Telles de Menezes asked Dom Bras de Castro "..to have particular care that the poor people do not suffer molestations nor unjust vexations" ("*..tereis mui particular cuidado de atalhar que os mesquinhos não recebão molestia nem vexações injustas*"). As an extension of this role, he was asked also to redress any particular grievances that the people might bring before him.[87] It was the tragedy of Portuguese rule in Ceylon that few captains-general even tried to live up to this ideal.

Several paragraphs in the *regimento* deal with the army and its personnel. Ceylon in the seventeenth century was, more often than not, a graveyard for the Portuguese soldier. This and the fact that the island was then a penal station to which soldiers found guilty of crimes in other parts of Asia were posted, made service there very unattractive. Desertion was very high[88]. Paragraph four of the *regimento* therefore contains instructions to apprehend all deserters and punish them severely. Any captain or *vidana* allowing soldiers to leave their posts was to be removed, and a special watch was to be kept on ships leaving the Colombo harbour.

One probable reason why the problem of desertion became acute about this time was that in the 1630s unrest, occasionally boiling over into mutiny, was brewing among the Portuguese garrisions, particularly among those stationed at the headquarters at Menikkadawara. Their grievances had been building up for a long time, the more or less permanent state of war that was then being maintained against Kandy and the consequent high demand on their services, the inability of the treasury to pay them regularly and the general poverty in which they lived being the long-term causes.[89]

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86. See appendix II page 48. Also Bocarro, *Decada XIII* p. 274.

87. The word used for this type of grievance in the document is the Sinhalese word *kāriya*, there spelt *careas*. It means loss, damage, or complaint. See Queyroz pp. 1039, 1043 where the term is used in the last sense.

88. In October 1631 the count of Linhares reported that though 923 soldiers had been sent to Colombo, at a muster the general had found only 724, the others having left, with or without permission. IOL Port. Trans. *Livros das Monções* 29 f. 197.

89. On 16 November 1634 Diogo de Mello de Castro reported "*..as mortes dos soldados Portugueses forão occazionadas de fomes e de mao tratamento, por andarem Rotos E dormirem no chao sem terem nemhum lençol com que se cubrissem....*" (Portuguese soldiers die of hunger and ill-usage, because they go about in tatters and sleep on the ground without so much as a handkerchief to cover themselves with....") Goa, codex 27 f. p. 99a. In June the same year, the Jesuit father Nicolas Coutinho had reported in the same strain. India Office Library, Port. Trans. vol. 73 f. 38.

A step taken in 1634 brought matters to a head, and this was connected with the winds of change then blowing. The 1630s can be described as a period in which there was a great deal of talk of reform and proposals to give the native population a better deal than that they had hitherto been getting. The smell of reform could be felt in most of the *regimentos* issued during this period. One form that this " reform movement " took was to look at government expenditure more closely to see if economies could not be effected. This started with a letter from the king, requiring a statement of expenditure incurred in Ceylon " to stop fanciful expenses and other frauds of my revenue " (....*atalhar as despesas fantasticas e outros fraudes de minha fazenda*....[90] "). In a follow-up of the royal initiative, Balthasar Marinho of the office of the exchequer at Goa examined government expenditure in Ceylon and concluded that pruning was possible, especially in the matter of the rice allowed to the captain-major's establishment.[91] A new set of standing orders issued in 1634 reduced the daily ration of rice allowed to a Portuguese soldier, from one and a half measures to one and a quarter measure. This reduction aggravated the unrest in the army and led to a series of mutinies during 1634–35. In January 1636 the council of state in Goa discussed the question and decided on the restoration of the earlier ration, and the council of revenue agreed that this was a sound step.[92] Antonio Telles formally incorporated this decision in Dom Bras' *regimento*.

Enlisting men of native stock or of mixed descent in the Portuguese army and fraudulently claiming full pay for them was a widespread abuse among the army-captains. In an attempt to stamp it out, the governor included a clause in the *regimento* stating that only sons and grandsons of Portuguese were entitled to enlistment as Portuguese, and that the others could be enlisted only on half the pay allowed to Portuguese soldiers.

One of the most important points dealt with in this *regimento* related to the question of the dependants of Sinhalese soldiers dying in the service of the Portuguese. No precise information is available about what provision had been made in such cases under the Sinhalese monarchs, though it would appear that if the deceased held any *paraveni* (heritable) land, his dependants were entitled to enjoy them if they performed the services due to the king. Under Kandyan law, the widow was also entitled to maintenance from the produce of the deceased husband's lands, if she remained unmarried.[93] It is clear from the document we are considering and the contents of the petition presented to the captain-general in 1636[94] that under the Portuguese the dependants of soldiers falling in war had been left unprovided for. Perhaps as a result of the petition, and certainly because of the need to win over the Sinhalese subjects at a critical time, opinion seems to have been building up that such a system was basically unjust, and that the state must support the dependants in such cases. The scheme proposed was that if a *mudaliyar* or an *aratchi*[95] (and presumably members of the lower ranks, though this is not mentioned) were to die, his service lands (*paraveniya* is the word used in the document) should pass on to his son, if he had one . If the son was a minor, he was entitled to the land on condition of providing a man to discharge the services due to the crown. In either case, the son had to support the widowed mother . If, however, the deceased left no sons, the widow, it was suggested

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90. Goa, codex 473 ff. 144-45.

91. Goa, codex 1161 f. 55.

92. Goa, codex 25 (no folio numbers).

Pissurlencar, *Assentos* II p. 52.

India Office Library, Portuguese Transcripts, vol. 73 f. 38 ; vol. 72 f. 251.

Queyroz (p. 799) lightly refers to the mutinies, but ascribes other causes. Other causes there certainly were, but the reduction of the ration also played its part, and to this Queyroz does not refer.

See also C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638* p. 147.

93. T. B. Dissanayake and A. B. C. de Soysa, *Kandyan Law and Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law*, (Colombo 1963) p. 128.

94. Queyroz p. 1016 ff.

95. An *aratchi* was the captain of a comp any of soldiers. A *mudaliyar* was a higher military officer

should be paid an allowance. The new captain-general was to discuss this proposal in Ceylon and implement any decision taken. We do not know whether any decision was ever taken, but such proposals support the argument that reforms were very much in the air from the 1630s.

It is tempting to couple these proposals for reform with the anxiety the Portuguese administration was then displaying to modify the harsher effects of their rule and on the basis of these to develop a theory that in the 1630s and 1640s the Portuguese government was at last ceasing to behave as a *conquistador*, and was now assuming a paternalistic role. But the tragedy was that the good intentions of the Goa administration failed to trickle through to Ceylon and that in any case, as a result of their expulsion in 1656-58, they were not called upon—indeed not allowed —to prove their *bona fides*.

It will be noted that two distinct types of reform were discussed during this period : one was politically motivated and sought to base Portuguese power in Ceylon on a foundation broader than that of the army, by winning over the native population or at least making them reconciled to it ; the second had as its object the pruning of government expenditure, and so bringing some order into government finance. As the types of reform were distinct so were the impulses behind these reforms. I shall argue later in this monograph that the attempt to stop oppression of the subject population by the officials derived largely from the external threat to Portuguese power posed by the Dutch. The impulse for financial reform, it would appear, was of Spanish origin.

Don Gaspar de Guzman, the count of Olivares, the notable Spanish statesman, was at the helm of affairs of that country from 1621 to 1643. His passion was to centralize and unify the administration and make the country financially strong. A number of reforms with this end in view were introduced by him. The years 1628-31 were particularly notable for several measures he introduced to raise money for the crown and so to infuse new life into the tired Habsburg giant.

The influence of these trends in the metropolitan countries was transmitted to India through the agency of the count of Linhares, who took up the post of viceroy in October 1629. During his period of office, a survey of the resources of the Portuguese in the east was undertaken by the keeper of records at Goa, Antonio Bocarro, because such a preliminary work was essential to any far-reaching financial reform[96].

The interest of the viceroy in the maximum exploitation of government resources made him also enforce the cinnamon monopoly in Ceylon to a degree it had not been enforced since its creation in 1615. As a result the price of cinnamon per *bahar* rose to 100 *xerafins* in the early 1630s, in contrast to the 25-30 *xerafins* it had fetched before the viceroy's measure.[97] We have already seen how the viceroy's interest in effecting economies in government spending had led to a reduction of the ration of rice allowed to troops in Ceylon and to consequent unrest and mutiny. The "economy drive", it is therefore clear, produced mixed results.

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96. Bocarro's work bore a long title : " *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental, com as descrições da altura em que estão, e de tudo o que ha nellas, artilharia, presidio, gente de armas, e vassalos, rendimentos e despesas, fundos e baixos das barras, reys da terra dentro, e poder que tem e paz e guerra que guardão, tudo que esta debaixo de Coroa da Espanha*" (Book of plans of all the fortresses, towns and settlements of the East Indies, with descriptions of the altitude in which they lie, and of all that there is in them, artillery, garrisons, men at arms, subjects, revenues and expenditure, depths and shallows of the bars, kings of the hinterland, the power they have and peace and war they maintain, and all that is under the crown of Spain)—title as given in Bragança Pereira's edition of the work from a manuscript copy at Evora in Portugal.

97. C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon* pp. 199-200.

Codex 1421 (1640-1647)

THIS codex is rather poor in material relating to Ceylon, and most of the *regimentos* in it are those issued to captains of vessels taking supplies to Ceylon. But there is one document of greater interest, which deals with the negotiations for the implementation of the ten-year truce between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Asia.

When Portugal successfully revolted against the Spanish Habsburgs in 1640 and gained her independence, a treaty of truce between the newly independent country and the Netherlands was concluded at the Hague on 12 June 1641.[98] By its terms the Dutch promised to call off for a ten-year period the struggle that they were then carrying on against the Portuguese possessions in Asia, Africa and Brazil. At subsequent discussions in Goa on the proclamation of the truce in the east, the two parties could not agree as to how the territories on the west coast of Ceylon, where both had forts, were to be divided.[99] The negotiations broke down on this question and the Dutch resumed the war. The document we are discussing is a set of instructions dated 8 October 1643 issued by the viceroy, the count of Aveiras,[100] to the two negotiators, Antonio Monis Barreto and Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who were setting out to meet their Dutch counterparts just beyond the fort of Agoada at the mouth of the river Mandovi in Goa in an attempt to resolve the differences and get the Dutch to call off the fighting.[101]

The earlier negotiations had broken down on the question of the division of territory between Galle and Colombo. The Dutch contention was that they were entitled to half the territory between Galle, which was under their control, and the next Portuguese fort, Colombo. They justified this claim both on what they called the law of war and on article XII of the treaty of truce, signed at the Hague.[102] The Portuguese on the other hand took their stand on actual physical possession, arguing that each power was entitled to only those territories it actually controlled at the time the news of the truce in Europe arrived in Asia. No party would give in and this had led to the breakdown of the negotiations. Now, because they were the weaker power and badly needed the breathing space a suspension of arms would provide, the Portuguese were ready to make a concession. The question of the division of territory was to be referred to Europe. Meanwhile the revenues of a segment of territory within a radius of three and a half leagues of the Galle fort were to be separately collected and deposited, to be handed over to the Dutch if the decision in Europe was in their favour. The two negotiators were to concede no more. But the Dutch refused to be satisfied with this concession only and when agreement was finally concluded on 10 November 1644, they received not only half the territory beween Galle and Colombo as they had right through claimed, but also of a similar amount beween Colombo and Negombo which they had meanwhile captured.[103]

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98. E. Prestage, *The Diplomatic Relations of Portugal with France, England, and Holland from 1640 to 1668*, (Watford 1925), pp. 180—1.

99. K. W. Goonewardena, *op. cit.* pp. 71-74.

100. Viceroy from 24 September 1640 to 30 December 1645.

101. Goa, codex 1421 ff. 77 a-78 a.

102. On article XII of the Hague treaty and its interpretation by the Dutch, see K. W. Goonewardena, *op. cit.* pp. 68, 72. The "law of war" argument was neatly put forward by Joan Maetsuycker in a letter to the Goa viceroy".... *com a ocupação e possessão aus fortalezas devamos juntamente entender pello direito da guerra ocupar e possuir a ametade das terras que entre ellas e as fortalezas dos senhores Portugueses conforme ao declaração dos nossos principes....*" Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III p. 63. Though this letter was written in November 1644, there is no doubt that the Dutch claim was right through based on this reasoning.

103. K. W. Goonewardena, *op. cit.* p. 93.

3—K 17671 (1/72)

Codex 1422 (1647-1657)

IN this volume there are three documents relating to Ceylon. Two of them are *regimentos* to captains-general Francisco de Mello de Castro (1654–55) and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho (1655–56) and the third was issued to João Pereira deça, who had been appointed *vedor da fazenda*. All three documents belong to the last decade of Portuguese rule in Ceylon and if we expect to see in them any indication that the Goa authorities had sensed the coming catastrophe and were straining every nerve to avoid it, we shall be disappointed. Goa's weakened will followed largely from the secondary place assigned to Asia in Portugal's order of priorities. It is true to say that Lisbon had only two main objectives during the ten-year truce: to use diplomatic means to secure a general treaty of peace with the Netherlands, thereby securing a return of all colonies lost to the Dutch and to concentrate all her resources—material and diplomatic—on regaining control over the whole of Brazil[104]. The hope that the first objective might materialise made aid to her Asian possessions seem unnecessary and in any case the pursuit of the second meant that aid to Asia was unavailable. Deprived of aid from Europe and living only in the hope of a permanent peace with the Dutch, Goa did not think it necessary to make brave declarations that this was their finest hour.

It is true that the words with which the two *regimentos* issued to the two captains-general open "....considering the grave danger wherein the city of Colombo and the Island and the conquest of Ceylon find themselves in with the war that by sea and land the Dutch and the Sinhalese are waging" look stirring enough. But they merely repeat the preamble to the *regimento* of October 1640. In their hour of trial, the Goa authorities could only repeat stale rhetoric.

(I) The standing orders dated 26 and 30 April 1653 given by the viceroy, the count of Obidos,[105] to Francisco de Mello de Castro[106] enumerated three things to which the captain-general should direct his attention. They were the recovery of the fort of Kalutara taken by the Dutch as soon as the truce expired in October 1652, the recovery of Negombo and the patching up of differences with Rajasingha II, the king of Kandy.

By way of adding the authority of the viceroy to the captain-general's attempt to reach an understanding with the Kandyan monarch, two letters were given to the captain-general, to be delivered to that ruler-one from the viceroy and the other from the king of Portugal himself. The idea that it would be desirable to extend a friendly hand to Kandy and thereby undermine the support the Dutch were receiving from that quarter had originated about 1644, and two Portuguese ambassadors, Diogo de Sousa da Cunha and Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, had already spent some time in the Kandyan court, the latter as much as two years[107]. Now the idea was to be taken up again, and this time the initiative had come from the king of Portugal, for we find him writing to Goa on 14 March 1652".....*não poder ser de dano escrever-se a aquelle Rey com mostras de amisade, em occasião em que elle a não tem com os olandezes*....." (there can be no harm in writing to that king,

104. That Portugal should value Brazil more than her eastern possessions was natural, for Prof. C. R. Boxer has shown that the Portuguese economy was dependent on Brazilian sugar to a degree it was not on eastern spices. Brazil was, in fact, Portugal's " *vacca de leite* " milch-cow.

105. Viceroy from September 1652 to October 1653.

106. Goa, codex 1422 ff. 68 v-70 v. The contents of the *regimento* were discussed by the council of state in Goa on 26 March 1653. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III pp. 236-237.

107. Queyroz p. 895.

Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III pp. 6-8, 19-20, 26, 133, 528-29.

Goa, Segredos vol. I f. 68.

British Museum, Addl. Ms. 41,996 document dated 14 December 1651.

with a show of friendship, at a time he is not on such terms with the Dutch). He had made the additional suggestion that a gift should be sent to the Kandyan ruler. He had also forwarded to Goa the draft of a letter, addressed to *Nobre e Honrado Rey de Candea*.[108] The gift, it was decided at Goa, should be a horse, for Rajasingha of Kandy was known to be fond of that animal, but the viceroy decided not to forward the king's letter in the form in which it had come from Portugal, for the Kandyan king resented being addressed as anything less than the Emperor of Ceylon.[109] The Portuguese authorities were now assiduously studying Rajasingha's likes and dislikes, for his friendship, or failing that at least neutrality, could mean a great deal.

Francisco de Mello de Castro's *regimento* touches on a few other points. In November 1652 the Portuguese garrisons at Menikkadawara had mutinied, imprisoned their captain-major, and marching on Colombo, had deposed the captain-general, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem (1645–53). The sending of a new captain-general gave the viceroy an opportunity to heal old wounds. Castre was authorized to grant the mutineers a free pardon and impress upon them the need to erase the unfortunate event from memory and make themselves worthy of earning the king's honour.[110]

For the rest, the standing orders deal with the arrangements for the exchange of prisoners of war with the Dutch, the need for better fortifications for Mannar and Colombo, and the question of the physical safety of the deposed captain-general and family until they embarked for India.

(II) The second important document in this codex is a set of standing orders dated 4 February 1650, issued by viceroy Dom Felipe Mascarenhas (1654–51) to João Pereira deça, who was going to Ceylon to take up the post of *vedor da fazenda*. This contains only one point of importance and that deals with cinnamon. The conclusion of the truce, giving the Dutch control over the cinnamon-producing areas in and around the Galle *korale*, had led to a substantial diminution of the cinnamon harvested for the Portuguese. The strict enforcement of the monopoly begun by the count of Linhares does not seem to have survived his period of office and the illicit export of cinnamon had by now assumed scandalous proportions.[111] João Pereira deça was required to stop this illicit trade by deterrent punishment of culprits and by keeping a strict watch on points of embarkation. He was also asked to constitute himself into a one-man commission of inquiry on the subject of cinnamon smuggling. The draft of a questionnaire to be circulated among those likely to be well-informed on the subject was also given as an appendix to the *regimento*. The inquiry, it was hoped, would being to light the loopholes in the working of the royal monopoly.

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108. This letter had reached Goa by 12 January 1653. Goa, codex 29 f. 190a. The viceroy was obviously acting on it. The Portuguese king's letter is reproduced in Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III p. 523.

109. On Rajasinha II's love of horses, see D. Ferguson, *Captain Robert Knox, Contributions towards a Biography*, (Colombo and Croydon 1896-97) p. 13.

On his touchiness about the way he was addressed, see K. W. Goonewardena. *op. cit.* pp. 85-86. It is brought out in Portuguese sources as well : Mascarenhas Homem suggested that letters to him should be superscribed "*ao emperador* Raia Singa " (to the emperor....) and that he be addressed as *Majestade;* Dom Bras de Castro reported that he would not be addressed as anything less than "*majessade emperial.*" Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III pp. 528-29, 559-60.

We may add here that such touchiness was not exclusively an oriental trait, for Napoleon III resented being addressed as *mon ami*, in place of the usual *mon frére*, by the Czar.

110. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III pp. 535-36.

The grant of a pardon was agreed to in the council of state on 28 April 1653. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III p. 248.

111. Goa, codex 1422 f, 35.

(III) The last document of importance for Ceylon in codex 1422 is the *regimento* dated 5 May 1655 issued to Antonio de Souza Coutinho, the new captain-general [112] (1655–56). It was issued by Dom Bras de Castro, who had usurped power in Goa in October 1653 and governed until the arrival in August 1655 of the next viceroy, the count of Sarzedas (1655–56). This document [113] is unfortunately not in a good state of preservation. Some parts of it are destroyed or completely illegible.

Antonio de Souza Coutinho, according to the *regimento*, was to take with him 400 Portuguese soldiers and their arquebuses, 20,000 *xerafims* in cash and 1200 *candies* [114] of rice. The Governor asked him to consider seriously the question of recovering Negombo from the Dutch, if the position of the Portuguese was satisfactory enough to warrant the attempt. Dom Bras considered this a feasible project, firstly because the captain-general was carrying generous reinforcements and secondly because recent reports from Ceylon spoke of two great victories the Portuguese had obtained over the Dutch and the Kandyan armies, at Alutgama and Anguruwatota.[115]

João Pereira deça had gone to Ceylon with instructions to stop the illicit export of cinnamon. He had apparently reported that the smuggling was on even a greater scale than had been feared in Goa. The authorities thereupon grew thoroughly alarmed, for without adequate supplies of cinnamon from Ceylon the homeward-bound fleet would have much less merchandise to carry. Should that happen, Lisbon would find it increasingly difficult to aid Goa or Ceylon. The captain-general was, therefore, asked to join forces with the *vedor da fazenda* in devising means to stamp out the illicit export of the commodity.

The *regimento* also discussed the exchange of prisoners of war with the Dutch and stressed the need to recognise and reward those who bring credit to Portuguese arms.

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112. He had been nominated for the post as far back as January 1654, but had put off the journey on various pretexts. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III pp. 318-19, 360-65. He had distinguished himself in service in Ceylon, soon after the defeat and death of Constantino de Sa in 1630. Goa, codex 19 f. 109a; codex 22 f. 27 a.

113. Goa, codex 1422 ff. 95 v—98 a.

114. According to a document of 1634 (Goa, codex 25,no folio nos.) a *candy* consists of 14 *paras*, and each *para*, of 25 measures (*medidas*). A *candy* was therefore the equivalent of 350 measures i.e. 700 lbs. (according to present reckoning). 1200 *candies* were therefore equal to 840,000 lbs . of rice . Not all this rice is likely to have reached Ceylon, for at least two of Antonio de Souza's ships were taken by the Dutch. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* III p. 389 ; D. Ferguson, *Cartas de Raja Singa II, Rei de Candea, aos Hollandeses*, 1636 -1660 (Lisbon, no date) p. 20.

115. The victory over the Dutch was more a successful retreat than an outright victory. Queyroz p. 924.

Retrospective Survey

IT will be noticed that the *regimentos* on Ceylon at the Goa archives cover three-quarters of a century—the first one is dated 31 December 1582 and the last one was issued on 5 May, 1655. But they are not evenly spread out over the whole period; the almost blinding light they throw on official thinking in Goa on Ceylon during the last two decades of their rule serves only to draw attention to the dark patches of the earlier years. There are other gaps as well ; we know, for example, more about the revenue potential of Mannar at the end of the sixteenth century than we do about that of the Portuguese-held territories on the mainland of Ceylon about the same time.

During the three-quarters of a century over which they range, the *regimentos* reflect the changes in the position of the Portuguese and the corresponding changes in their perspectives. Those of the earlier years—say from 1582 to 1597—are from what we might call Portugal's trading period in Ceylon; the *regimentos* issued to Antão Vaz Freire in 1608 and to Manoel Mascarenhas Homem in 1614[116] belong to Portugal's "country power" period in the island, while the *regimentos* from the 1630s are preoccupied with crisis and reform.

The standing orders of the earliest period, that of trade, are no different in form and content from those issued to other Portuguese forts in the east, from Sofala to Macau.[117] When the Portuguese began spreading over the east, they followed medieval Italian practice in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea areas[118] and dotted the Asian and East African coastlines with trading stations (in Portuguese *feitorias*, cf. English factories), set up for purchasing commodities or for controlling the seaborne trade of the Indian Ocean, quite often for both. They garrisoned each trading station with a company of soldiers. Though primarily trading stations, the walled fort and the armed garrison were what hit one in the eye, and the *fortaleza* (fort)gained ascendancy over the prosaic *feitoria*. (The parallel with English practice in India is again clear from at least one instance, *Fort* St. George in Madras). To each of these *fortalezas* was issued a set of standing orders, giving the complement of officers to be attached to the station, the salaries and allowances to be paid to then and the other approved expenditure that the station was allowed to incur, together with an estimate of revenue. The importance of a trading station might wax or wane, but this tended to happen only over a long period of time. Except where this happened, requiring a corresponding increase or reduction of staff, there was no need to revise or supersede earlier *regimentos*. The two *regimentos* on Mannar and that issued for Colombo on 30 September, 1597 belong to this static category, appropriately called *Regimentos das Fortalezas*.

Already during their trading period, when they had maintained a fort in Colombo, the Portuguese had been sucked into the maelstrom of Ceylon's internal politics. They began supporting one local ruler against another in a civil war, the party receiving their support eventually becoming became their *protégé*. This increasing Portuguese involvement in local politics reached its climax when the ruler of Kotte, the kingdom they had supported, made the Portuguese king his heir by a notarial deed of gift. The Portuguese in Ceylon had become a country power. The two *regimentos* of 1608 and 1614 reflect the changed circumstances and new problems.

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116. See appendices I and II. (The second document is not from Goa, but from the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon).

117. These are reproduced in Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das Fortalezas* (Bastora 1951).

118. J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance*, (London 1963) p. 43.

Portugal as a political power in Ceylon had three broad interests : the furtheranee of conversion to the Catholic faith, the extension of Portuguese power over the whole island, particularly by the annexation of Kandy, and the exploitation of the economic resources of the island, with the least possible disturbance of the existing social and economic framework.

The existing *regimentos* do not adequately reflect Portuguese interest in missionary activity, though the correspondence between Goa and Europe (in the Books of the Monsoons) and their positive achievements during their rule in Ceylon leave us in no doubt about their enthusiasm.

The two *regimentos* are rather fuller in their outlines of the strategies to realize the other two objectives : the annexation of Kandy and the exploitation of economic resources. In view of the inability of Goa to spare the troops to make a successful assault on Kandy, Azevedo suggested the continuation of a mode of warfare which he himself had followed during his captain-generalcy (1594-1612)—a series of lightning strikes, twice a year, during which crops were to be destroyed, cattle carried away, and the inhabitants killed off. This mode of warfare used the small body of Portuguese troops available to maximum advantage, did not expose them to Kandyan hostility for long, and was calculated to do as much damage to Kandyan morale as to the economic basis of its society.

Azevedo's was a long-term policy designed to weaken Kandy and eventually subdue her. The *regimento* dated 27 February 1608 issued to Antão Vaz Freire embodied broadly the same line of thinking. It recommended the promotion of settlements of Portuguese colonists in Ceylon, living within fortified towns on the west coast, and drawing their maintenance from the grants of land assigned to them by a benign government. Such colonies were to act both as a pacifying influence on the rebellious subjects in the Portuguese territories and as a reservoir providing a stream of soldiers for prosecuting the war against Kandy.

Since Antão Freire was appointed to the post of *vedor da fazenda*, his standing orders devoted more attention to revenue and economic questions. The instruction to prepare a land-register giving particulars of villages, sea-ports, customs houses, *pingos* and other dues and the statement that this information should be collected from documents held by the native inhabitants, or where these were not available, from "the *kanakapulles*[119] . . . the headmen or . . . . other deponents and . . . . persons likely to know them well" enunciated the principle that the network of relations between the state and its subjects coming down from the days of the Sinhalese rulers was to be respected and preserved. But Portuguese mercantile interests were not forgotten : the villages of the cinnamon-peelers were to be reserved for the government so that it could draw upon their labour for cinnamon-peeling; the quantity of cinnamon prepared was to be increased; and the *vedor* was to explore additional revenue possibilities in "elephants and other things from which the heathen kings used to draw profit."

The two *regimentos* we have discussed, it will be seen, are both policy documents, fundamentally different from the standing orders issued earlier which had merely embodied revenue and expenditure particulars. Unlike that issued for Colombo in 1597, these were not relics of the past, but signposts to the future.

By 1636, from which year *regimentos* become freely available, a change had taken place in Portuguese attitudes and preoccupations. It is not possible to date this change because a few only of the standing orders of the earlier period are available, at least at Goa, but the changed atmosphere is clearly noticeable in the standing orders issued after 1636. The

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119. A *pingo* was a pole, carried on the shoulder, at either end of which two loads were suspended. Here it means a porter's load of goods offered to the king as a due.

A *kanakapulle* was a native officer whose function was to keep accounts.

changes are basically two in number ; in the first place, Portuguese horizons in Ceylon had contracted and the Portuguese were now increasingly concerned with the problems of survival, and secondly, they are found examining their rule with almost clinical attention, highlighting its defects, and suggesting remedies.

From as early as 1600, the annexation of Kandy had been accorded high priority on the Portuguese agenda, second only to the consolidation of their authority over the lowland areas. Attainable " within years, if not months " had been their attitude during these years. True, they had twice recognized the authority of the king of Kandy over his territories, in the treaties of 1617 and 1633–34, but they also had kept alive the fiction of their own suzerainty over these territories by securing explicit acknowledgement of this by insisting on, and receiving, tribute.[120]

By 1638, however, the annexation of Kandy was off the agenda. The Goa authorities appear to have been the first to drop it. It is noteworthy that both in 1625–27 and 1637–38, when two 'hawks' in Ceylon, the captains-general Constantino de Sa e Noronha and Diogo de Mello de Castro, were urging upon the Goa authorities the desirability of delivering a pre-emptive strike against Kandy, the council of state at Goa either flatly refused to sanction it or expressed grave misgivings about the project.[121] Even after making allowance for the council's natural wish to disclaim responsibility in the event of failure, one can see, in its deliberations, a genuine concern about the projects that the captains-general were urging upon it. When the two generals, in disregard of the notably cool attitude of Goa, allowed their suicidal impulses to sway their judgements and paid for their rashness, the project of annexing Kandy was finally abandoned. Not that there was a formal, public disavowal ; the authorities quietly dropped it.

For four decades, the Portuguese desire to annex Kandy had been neatly counter-balanced by Kandy's will to survive, and Portuguese capacity to strike by Kandy's ability to resist. On every occasion the Portuguese attempted to tilt the scales in their favour—in 1602–03, 1630 or 1638—they had failed. In the 1630s this equilibrium was upset by the addition of another factor to the Kandyan side of the equation—the entry of the Dutch. From 1638 onwards, the Portuguese had therefore not only to abandon the hope of adding Kandy to their territories, but also to carry on a war for the defence of their own lands on the west coast. The attempt to woo Kandy away from alliance with the Dutch, the stirring prose about the war their enemies were waging against them by sea and land, and the frequency with which assistance in the form of food, reinforcements and money was sent therefore become the themes of the *regimentos* of the period.

The second feature of the *regimentos* of the years 1636–55 is their tendency towards introspection. Attention was paid particularly to the conduct of the officials and their oppression of the native population. It is true that such self-criticism was not altogether new ; missionaries like Father (later Saint) Francis Xavier and chroniclers like Diogo do Couto had much earlier drawn attention to these defects. The king of Portugal had also occasionally pointed out the need to do justice to the native population. But such cries had had scarcely any influence on official policy nor had they found any answering echoes in Goa. But now the cry was taken up in full measure. To drive the point home Pero da Silva even added a medieval touch : cleverly playing upon the Iberian notions of the superiority of the profession of arms to that of commerce, he held up for emulation by government

120. Biker, *Collecção de Concertos de pazes* I pp. 205-207 ; II p. 43 ; Goa, codex 25 (no folio numbers).

121. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* II pp. 176-7, 200-201, 230-2; Pissurlencar, *Assentos* (Supplementary series) I pp. 20-1, 106-7.

C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon* pp. 70-73. 149, 153.

officials an ideal compounded of medieval knight and monk—one who has eschewed filthy lucre derived from lowly commerce and prohibited dealings so oppressive of the people in favour of honour and service to the king.[122].

That the Portuguese should have been most concerned with reforming abuses at a time when they were also most preoccupied with survival seems, on the face of its, surprising. It need not be. A government like that of the Portuguese in the east was not likely to have itself initiated reform, or positively responded to European impulses initiating them, except in reaction to an external agent. It was the fear of the advent of the Dutch as a factor against them in the politics of Ceylon that made the Portuguese give serious consider ation to reforming abuses. The reform movement was therefore a protective reaction, owing more to failure of nerve than to any other factor.

122. See paragraph 40 of appendix III page 75.

Appendix I A

Regimento, que Sua Magestade deu a Antão Vaz Freire, primeiro vedor da fazenda de Ceilão *

EU El Rey faço saber a vós Antão Vaz Freire, fidalgo de minha casa, que sendo eu informado de como a ilha de Ceilão, depois de huma longa e trabalhosa conquista está oje em grande parte pacifica, e reduzida debaxo de minha obediencia, e que para milhor se conservar e manter em paz, e justiça, e as cousas da christandade e conversão dos gentios irem cada vez em maior augmento, seria muito necessario e importante atombarem-se as terras e aldeas della, e repartirem-se pelos soldados, e pessoas que na dita conquista me tem servido, e outras benemeritos, e fortificaremse alguns portos
P. 802 e lugares/maritimos, e finalmente darse a ordem que convem assy ao bom governo da dita Ilha, como á arrecadação de minha fazenda, ouve por bem de prover nestas cousas pela maneira que ao diante se declarará ; e por ter entendido que he necessario e conveniente a meu serviço, e para ellas se porem em execução aver na dita Ilha hum veedor de minha fazenda, pela confiança que de vós tenho que nisso me servireis com a diligencia e cuidado que o negocio requere, ouve por bem de vos eleger para o dito cargo conforme a provisão que delle vos mandei passar, pera saberdes a ordem e forma que com elle aveis de guardar, vos mandei dar este regimento, que ey por bem, e vos mando cumprais inteiramente.

1. Primeiramente embarcarvos-eys nas náos, que este anno vão para a India, e tanto que chegardes a Goa, requerereis ao meu Viso Rey vos dé embarcação para passardes á dita Ilha de Ceilão, e nella entender nos negocios e materias, de que vos encarrego.

2. Tanto que chegardes á dita Ilha, mostrareis as provisões que levais do dito cargo de veedor de minha fazenda em ella, e assy este Regimento a Dom Jeronimo d'Azevedo, general daquella conquista, ou a quem seu cargo servir.

3. Levareis comvosco o escrivão, que vos tenho nomeado para servir no mesmo cargo, ou sendo falecido, servireis com o que vos nomear o dito meu Viso Rey da India, e logo ordenareis dous livros numerados e assinados por vós em todas as folhas em hum dos quaes se lançará o tombo das Corlas e aldeas com suas confrontações e demarcações, e com declaração do que os lavradores são obrigados pagar por seus foraes, ou costumes antigos.

4. Ireis pessoalmente com vosso escrivão a todas as Corlas ; na cabeça de cada huma, ou na aldea que vos parecer mais conveniente, chamareis alguns homens bons da terra, e com elles fareis a atombação, e demarcação, mandando primeiro vir ante vós os livros ou escrituras, que ouver dos forais, e visto todo com a pessoa que levardes por lingoa, lançareis no dito livro o que achardes com a distinção necessaria, para se saber o que rende cada aldea, e não havendo forais, nem escrituras, que o declarem, fareis a dita declaração pelo que achardes pelos Canacapoles das ditas aldeas, ou maioraes ou por testemunhas, e relação de pessoas, que o bem possão saber.

5. Fareis distincção e titulos separados das terras e aldeas, que conforme aos forais e a doações dos Reis gentios estavão dedicados aos seus pagodes, com declaração outrossy do que cada huma rende.

6. Enformarvos-heis das terras e aldeas, que estão dadas a Portuguezes por mym, ou por meus Viso Reis, governadores, e generaes da conquista, vendo as cartas e titulos
P. 803 que dellas tem, e o treslado de tudo fareis lançar no dito livro, e o mesmo fareis/das terras e aldeas que estiverem dadas assy a Portuguezes, como aos naturaes da terra, christãos ou gentios, pelos Reis que forão da dita Ilha, e com declaração do que rende cada aldea, pera tudo se ver, e entender muy distinctamente.

7. Correreis os portos de mar, e de cada hum fareis seu titulo separado, com declaração dos que tem alfandegas, e do que ao presente rende, e quem as possue, e com que titulo, que outrossy se tresladará no dito livro.

8. E avendo outras algumas terras, aldeas, direitos, e pingas, que se costumasse antigamente arrecadar para os reis gentios, e andasse separadas como bens de coroa, fareis assi mesmo delles titulos separados com esta declaração acima.

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9. Depois de feito o dito tombo pela forma atraz declarada, e com as mais advertencias que parecerem necessarias, vos tornareis com vosso escrivão a Columbo, aonde ordeno ao Bispo de Cochim se ache presente juntamente com Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, general da conquista, ou quem seu cargo servir, com os quaes, e em falta de qualquer delles, o capitão da dita fortaleza de Columbo, vos ajuntareis no lugar que elles ordenarem, fazendo mesa e junta, na qual se verá o dito livro de tombo, e conforme o que constar por elle do rendimento de cada aldea, e sua calidade, se lhe porá logo o foro, que della se ade pagar, primeiro que se dê de aforamento a nenhuma pessoa, e com isso se fará por vós, e os ditos deputados repartição das ditas aldeas na forma seguinte.

10. Primeiramente se separarão as aldeas, e quaesquer outras rendas, que forem dos pagodes, fazendo no outro livro, em que se hão de lançar os aforamentos, titulos separados das ditas aldeas dos pagodes, com declaração do rendimento de cada huma, e destas se poderão dar e applicar as que parecerem aos mosteiros e igrejas que ouver na dita Ilha, com declaração que as terão em quanto eu ouver por bem, e não mandar o contrario, porque sucedendo pelo tempo em diante crecerem os mosteiros e igrejas, e parecendome mudar e alterar a tal repartição, o poderei fazer.

11. E as aldeas dos ditos pagodes, que por ora se não repartirem, por não ser necessario, ficarão de fora, e as mandareis pôr em arrecadação na forma que abaixo se declarará, e mandareis arrecadar as outras que ficarem para a minha fazenda.

12. Assi mais se separarão das aldeas, que antigamente se arrecadavão pera o Rey da dita Ilha, todas, ou as que parecer, porque sou informado que será milhor darem-se algumas destas com foro, que cobrarem-se por conta de minha fazenda, mas o rendimento das que ficarem, se arrecadará para minha fazenda na forma abaixo declarada.

P 804 As mais aldeas, que ficarem, se repartirão pela maneira seguinte.

13. Primeiramente aos homens Portuguezes, que andarão na conquista, assi cazados, como que o não sejão, conforme as suas qualidades e merecimentos, e espós elles aos mais Portuguezes do estado, conforme o que cada hum merecer, e assy aos Portuguezes, que cazarem com orfãs, e todos com obrigação de viverem na dita Ilha, e despois a outros christãos naturaes della, que tiverem servido em cargos. e com lealdade, e aos soldados, que me servirão nas guerras, e conquista da dita Ilha, se repartirão as aldeas mayores e milhores, com obrigação de terem soldados com espingardas que parecer, e de servirem com ellas quando lhe for mandado na mesma Ilha, e não vencerão soldo, moradia, nem mantimento á custa de minha fazenda.

14. As aldeas mais pequenas se darão e repartirão pelos Modeliares, Araches, e Lascarins naturaes da terra, segundo os merecimentos de cada hum com a mesma obrigação de espingardas, e fóros de dinheiro, e assy mais com obrigação de viverem com suas molheres dentro nas fortalezas da Ilha.

15. Todos os ditos aforamentos se lançarão neste segundo livro, em titulos separados de cada aldea, com declaração do nome della, a da pessoa a que se dá, e do foro e obrigação que se lhe põe.

16. Aos Portuguezes se poderão dar as ditas aldeas em duas e tres vidas, e com condição que possão nellas suceder femas, e com obrigação de pagarem quem sirva com as espingardas em quanto não cazarem, e que cada vida, que de novo soceder, se acrecentará o que parecer por justa veedoria, e que não poderão vender, repartir, nem alhear as ditas aldeas, antes andarão sempre juntas e inteiras na pessoa a que nomear o ultimo possuidor.

17. E pera cultivar a terra se dará aos da mesma Ilha, deixando estar os que já estavão nas mesmas aldeas e terras, e aonde faltarem, se porão os christãos da mesma Ilha que quizerem, e não havendo copia bastante, se darão as ditas terras pera se cultivarem, e pagarem como he costume nas aldeas do Norte, aos christãos de São Thomé, que lá quizerem ir, e avendo mais aldeas que repartir, se poderá fazar[1] pelos ditos christãos de São Thomé, que quizerem hir viver a dita Ilha com suas casas e familias, com as mesmas obrigações, quando faltar gente da terra.

18. E com os ditos portos, e aldeas se não aforarão juntamente as Vidanas, posto que costumassem andar com ellas, porque estas por terem administração de justiça, hey por bem se provejão por menos tempo, e sejão escolhidos para isso Portuguezes, pessoas aptas e sufficientes.

(1) So in the printed text. It should be *fazer*.

19. E assi ey por bem que as aldeas que se repartirem aos Medeliares,[2] Araches, e lascarins da terra, se não dem em vidas, e não em quanto eu ouver por bem, e não
P. 805 mandar o contrario, / por ter entendido que assi acostumavão a dar os Reis gentios, e será mais serviço meu fazer-se ao menos agora nestes principios.

20. Feita assy a dita repartição das ditas aldeas, e lançada no dito livro com as declarações, que atraz ordeno, se fará do dito livro hum treslado, que se me enviará pera eu o ver, e confirmar na forma que me parecer, e ouver por meu serviço, e pera milhor me poder resolver na confirmação das ditas repartiçes, [3] ey por bem e mando que o dito livro dos aforamentos seja primeiro visto pelo meu Viso Rey da India, e pessoas que elle pera isto escolher, e com seu parecer mo enviareis, e em quanto não tiverem minha confirmação, se haverá não terem titulo bastante os possuidores para deixarem de ser removidos quando eu ouver por bem de o fazer, e isto se entenderá não somente nas que agora de novo se repartirem, mas tambem nas que estiverem providas por provisão dos meus Viso Reis e governadores da conquista, que não tiverem provisão e confirmação minha, porque as ditas datas são nullas por huma provisão que sobe[4] isso tenho passado, de que o treslado irá no fim deste regimento.

21. E assy hey por bem que se não dem nem repartão as aldeas dos Chaliás, principalmente as de Bilitote, e Cosgore, porque estas ficarão livres por respeito do serviço que fazem no tirar da canella, e não pagarão mais que o que ategora costumavão pagar ao Vidana, os quaes Vidanas se proverão em Portuguezes homens de serviço, de que se tenha boa informação, que tratarão bem os ditos Chaleás, e isto por annos, e não em vida.

22. Eu tenho ordenado por minhas cartas e instrucções que mandei aos Viso Reis da India que se fortificasse alguns portos mais principaes na costa da dita Ilha desde Manar até Mature, e ora convem que isto se dê á execução para conservação da dita Ilha e augmento de minha fazenda nella, e assy ey por bem se faça, e se ponhão alfandegas nos que a vós, e aos ditos deputados parecer, e o mesmo sobre os que se deve fortificar, e os que, me tem apontado pera o sobre dito são os seguintes: Putalão, que está doze legoas de Manar para o sul; Chiláo, que está avante seis legoas; Negumbo, sete, Columbo, cinco, Panaturé, quatro, Calature, tres, Alicão, tres, Galle, oito, Biligão, tres, Maturé, tres.

23. E os ditos portos se fortificarão á custa de minha fazenda na forma em que parecer mais conveniente, e segundo a importancia de cada hum, obrigando aos
P. 806 Portuguezes que tiverem aldeas ao redor a viver nelles com suas casas, e assi / mesmo aos principaes das ditas aldeas naturaes da terra, para com isso se segurar mais, e se aquietarem com a comunicação dos Portuguezes.

24. E porem as ditas alfandegas se não poderão aforar, nem por outra via dar e repartir, mas se arrendarão, ou arrecadarão pera minha fazenda como direitos reaes que são.

25. Tereis a cargo pôr em arrecadação os ditos direitos e foros, que a minha fazenda pertencerem, assy de dinheiro, como de drogas, breu, cairo, madeira, e quaesquer outras cousas, e as drogas, e as mais cousas se meterão na casa da feitoria de Columbo, de que o feitor terá huma chave, e vós outra, e o escrivão outra, e se carregarão em receita sobre o dito feitor conforme a meu regimento, e dali se não tirará cousa alguma senão por vosso mandado, que serão aquellas que se ouver de mandar para Goa, ou pera o Reino, ou despender em minhas armadas, e o remanecente se venderá por vossa ordem, e o dinheiro se meterá em huma arca de tres chaves com todo e mais que se arrecadar dos ditos foros, e das alfandegas, e rendas da dita Ilha, e tudo se carregará em hum livro que hade estar dentro na dita arca, e se passarão conhecimentos em forma ás pessoas, de que receberem, assinados por vós, e pollo feitor, e não receberá cousa alguma por conhecimentos rasos.

26. Hey por bem e mando que os capitães da fortaleza de Columbo se não entremetão, nem entendão na despesa do dito dinheiro, mas que toda corra por vós, e pelo dito feitor, e nem elle nem vós podereis fazer outra despesa mais que a ordinaria, de que se fará folha cada anno conforme ao que estiver ordenado á dita fortaleza, e Ilha por minhas provisões, e dos meus Viso Reis.

27. E porem durando a conquista, e havendo nella general, se farão as despesas extraordinarias por seus mandados, em que poreis vista, e d'outra maneira não serão levadas em conta aos officiaes, e o general terá nas ditas depesas [5] a moderação que convem, e do que fizer dará conta ao Viso Rey para saber o como, e com que cousas fez as taes despesas.

(2) Should be *modeliares*.
(3) Should be *repartições*.
(4) Should be *sobre*.
(5) Should be *despesas*.

28. Hey por bem que o dito general da conquista não passe mandados alguns para os officiaes das alfandegas, ou quaesquer outros fazerem pagamentos, mas que somente os passe para o feitor, pera elle os pagar do dinheiro que estiver na arca, onde todo hade vir, e assy para os mais cousas que estiverem no almazem, onde assi mesmo se hão todas de entregar, e carregar sobre o feitor, como fica dito, e nenhum mandado do dito general que for contra esta ordem se cumprirá, nem vós lhe poreis vista, nem será levado em conta aos officiaes que o pagarem.

29. Ey por bem e mando que a nenhum official de minha fazenda se faça desconto do que lhe for devido com o que forem obrigados a pagar, mas que pagando, e fazendo
P. 807 real entrega primeiro, requeirão seus pagamentos. /

30. Na ordem e pagamento dos soldados que servirem na dita Ilha, se terá a forma do regimento da matricula do estado da India, de que tereis hum treslado pera conforme a elle fazer os ditos pagamentos.

31. E por ter entendido que na dita Ilha ha muitas cousas de que minha fazenda pode receber beneficio, como he tirandose mais canella do que importão as pareas, e os elefantes, e outras cousas, de que os Reis gentios costumavão tirar proveito, vos encommendo que com muita diligencia vos informeis de todas ellas, e do que nisso se pode fazer, e mo aviseis por vossas cartas particulares, porque o mesmo encommendo ao Bispo de Cochim, e general da conquista fação nas que me escreverem.

E o conteudo neste regimento vos mando que o cumpraes e guardeis, e façaes cumprir e guardar inteiramente sem embargo de quaesquer leis, ordenações, privilegios, e regimentos, provisões, cartas, instrucções, e costumes, que em contrario haja ; e este valerá como carta passada em meu nome, posto que o effeito delle aja de durar mais de hum anno, e não passará pela chancelaria sem embargo das ordenações do 2° liv. titulos 39 e 40, que dispoem o contrario. Simão Luis o fez em Lisboa a 27 de Fevereiro anno do nascimento de nosso Senhor Jesu Christo de 1608. Eu o secretario Antonio Villes de Simas o fiz escrever.—*Rey.*

Regimento, de que hade usar Antão Vaz Freire, que Vossa Magestade envia á India por veedor de sua Fazenda na Ilha de Ceilão. Para Vossa Magestade ver. Cumpra-se este Regimento de Sua Magestade em tudo e por tudo assi e da maneira que se nelle contem. Em Goa 26 de Mayo de 1609. E eu o secretario Francisco de Sousa Falcão o fiz escrever.—*Frey Aleixo, Arcebispo Primaz.*

Cumpra-se este Regimento de Sua Magestade em tudo e por tudo assi e da maneira que se nelle contem, e he declarado, para que Antão Vaz Freire, fidalgo da casa de Sua Magestade, e veedor da fazenda de Ceilão, nelle conteudo, o dê á execução, e o cumpra inteiramente. E eu o secretario Francisco de Sousa Falcão o fiz em Goa a 26 de Agosto de 1609.—*André Furtado de Mendonça.* Cumpra-se este Regimento de Sua Magestade em tudo como se nelle contem, para que sirva o cargo de veedor da fazenda de Ceilão como S. Magestade manda. Em Nossa Senhora do Cabo ao primeiro de Outobro de 609. *Ruy Lourenço de Tavora.*

O qual Regimento, provisão de Sua Magestade ao pe do dito Regimento, foi tudo
P. 808 aqui tresladado por mym Francisco d' Aguiar/de Macedo, escrivaõ da fazenda dos
contos, e concertado com o official aqui abaizo assinado comigo no concerto. Em Goa
P. 809 a 6 de Fevereiro de 610. *Francisco de Aguiar de Macedo. Phelippe da Costa e Cunha.*

Appendix I B

STANDING orders which His Majesty issued to Antão Vaz Freire, the first superintendent of revenue of Ceylon. (1)

I, the king, make known to you, Antão Vaz Freire, gentleman of my household, (2) that whereas I am informed that the island of Ceylon, after a long and arduous conquest is today for the most part pacified and brought under my control, and that the better to retain and maintain it in peace and justice and for matters connected with Christianity and the conversion of the heathen to continue to make further progress, it would be most necessary and important to register the lands and villages thereof, to distribute them among the soldiers and persons who have served me in that conquest as well as among other deserving persons, to fortify some ports and places on the coast, and finally to give it that [good] order which is necessary both for the good government of the said island and the collection of my revenues ; I hold it good to provide for these matters in the manner hereafter to be declared ; and whereas I understand that it is necessary and convenient for my service to have in the said island a superintendent of my revenues to attend to these matters and because of the confidence I place in you that you will serve me in that post with the diligence and care which these matters call for, I therefore deem it proper to elect you to the said post according to a regulation thereof which I have ordered to be passed, so that you might know the order and form which you have to observe therein, I ordered these instructions to be issued to you and I hold it good and order that you comply with them fully.

1. Firstly, you will embark in the vessels which this year will sail for India, and immediately on your arrival in Goa, you will apply to my viceroy to give you passage to the said island of Ceylon, to undertake there the business and matters that I entrust to you.

2. Immediately on arrival in the said island, you will show the regulations you carry for the said post of superintendent of revenue as well as these standing orders to Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, general of the conquest, (3) or to whomsoever is serving in his place.

3. You will take with you the secretary I have nominated to serve in that post,(4) and if he is dead, you will serve with the officer whom my viceroy of India may nominate. You will immediately order two books numbered and signed by you on each folio in one of which will be set down the *tombo* of the *korales* and villages, with their boundaries and delimitations, and with statements of what the cultivators by their charters or ancient custom are obliged to pay.

4. With your secretary, you will personally visit all the *korales* ; to the headquarters of each *korale* or to such village as may seem most convenient, you will summon some good men of the district and with them prepare the *tombo* and demarcations [of the villages], first ordering to be brought before you the books and documents there may be and having gone through them all with the person you will take as your interpreter, you will enter in the said book the particulars you find with all due clarity, so that what each village yields may be known. Should there be neither charters nor documents containing these particulars, you will obtain them from the *kanakapulles* (5) of the said villages, from the headmen or from other deponents and from accounts of persons likely to know them well.

5. You will indicate separately the lands and villages which according charters and grants of heathen kings were dedicated to their places of worship, together with a statement of what each one yields.

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(1) Antão Vaz Freire is here called the first superintendent of revenue. But, as Dr. C. R. de Silva has pointed out, Jorge Froilm de Almeida had been sent to Ceylon ten years earlier-in 1597, to occupy a similarly named post. Vaz Freire was therefore only the second to hold this post. Obviously, the Lisbon authorities were either unaware of this fact, or were making a distinction between the offices of *vedor da fazenda* (Vaz Freire's designation) and *provedor da fazenda*, the official designation with which (according to some documents) Jorge Frolim de Almeida went to Ceylon.

(2) The appointment of Antão Vaz Freire was discussed and approved in the council of India on 19 December 1606. (Ajuda 51-VII-7 f. 202a). The exact date of appointment was 4 January 1607. (Lisbon, Torre de Tombo, Chancelaria, D. Felipe II, Doações, livro 17 f. 220.) The appointment was registered in the India House on 7 April 1609. (Ribeiro, *Registo da Casa da India* I p. 414.)'

(3) Captain-general of Ceylon from December 1594 to November 1612 and thereafter viceroy in India from 1612 to 1618.

(4) This was Paulo Caravalho, selected from the exchequer at Goa, to compensate for Vaz Freire's lack of experience in the east. Doc. Rem. I p. 236 ; II p. 151. Later Balthasar Marinho succeeded Caravalho.

(5) An officer whose duty was to keep accounts and records.

6. You will inform yourself about the lands and villages that have been given to Portuguese [individuals] by me, or by my viceroys, governors and by the generals of the conquest, and examining the letters or titles they may have for them, you will cause a copy of all these to be inserted in the said book. You will do the same in regard to the lands and villages which the former kings of the said island may have given, to the Portuguese as well as to the natives of the land, Christian or heathen, with particulars of the income of each village, so that everything may be seen and understood very clearly.

7. You will proceed to the sea-ports and of each one make a separate record, stating which of them have customs houses, the present income from each, who holds them and with what title, and all these particulars will be entered in the said book.

8. Should there be any other lands, villages, dues and *pingos* ([6]) whose revenues in ancient times used to be collected for the heathen rulers and which were reckoned separately as property of the crown, you will make separate records of them, also declaring them to be such.

9. After completing the said lands-register in the above-declared manner with such other information as might appear necessary, you will return with your secretary to Colombo, where I order the bishop of Cochin to make himself available, together with Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, general of the conquest, or with whosoever is serving in that post, and in the absence of either of them, with the captain of the said fort of Colombo, to assemble at a place they may decide upon, constituting a board and committee (*mesa e junta*) which will examine the said book of the land register and based on what it shows to be the income of each village and its worth, you will immediately fix the quit rent which will have to be paid for it, before which it shall be given as a land-grant to no person whatever. With this done, the deputies and you will distribute the said villages in the following manner.

10. First of all, those villages and other rents which used to belong to places of worship should be distinguished, setting out in the second book in which land grants are to be recorded the separate titles of these temple lands, with a statement of the revenue of each. Of these such as you think fit may be granted and applied to the monasteries and churches, that are in the said island, with the stipulation that they shall enjoy these lands for as long as it is my pleasure and do not order otherwise, so that should the number of monasteries and churches in future increase, and should it then occur to me to change and alter the distribution of these lands, I could then do so ([7]).

11. The villages of the said places of worship, which for the present are not allotted, it being unnecessary, should be excluded [from this book]; you will order the collection of their revenues to be proceeded with in the manner declared below ([8]) and you will [also] order the revenues of those that remain to be collected for my treasury.

12. Also to be separated are all, or as many as would appear necessary, of those villages whose revenues were in ancient times collected by the kings of the said island, because I am informed that it would be preferable to grant some of these on condition of the payment of quit rent, rather than to have their dues collected for my treasury, but the revenues of those remaining shall accrue to my treasury, in the manner declared below.

The remaining villages shall be allotted in the following manner.

13. In the first place to Portuguese men who are in Ceylon, either as married settlers or single men according to their qualities and merit; thereafter to other Portuguese in the state, ([9]) according to what each one deserves, and then to those Portuguese who marry the orphan girls ([10])—to all these with the stipulation of residing in the said island; thereafter to native Christians there, who may have served in posts with loyalty, and to those soldiers who have served me in the wars and conquest of the said island, shall be distributed the bigger and better villages, with the obligation of maintaining a reasonable number of soldiers armed with fire-locks and serving with them in the island when summoned, without being entitled to pay, allowance or maintenance at the cost of my treasury.

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(6) *Pingos* are poles from either end of which loads are hung. Here it means a porter's load offered to the king as a due.

(7) In laying down this principle, the king of Portugal was proceeding against the claim advanced by the friars of the Franciscan order to the whole of the properties that had formerly been set apart for the maintenance of Buddhist and Hindu places of worship, on the basis of an alleged donation made by the king of Kotte, Dharmapala, in 1563 or 1573.

(8) See paragraph 25 of this document.

(9) That is, to those Portuguese serving in the east, in what was called the state of India (*estado da India*).

(10) The Portuguese king used to send out batches of orphan girls from orphanages in Portugal to be married in the east, their dowries being provided by the crown in the form of a post carrying a salary or an allotment of land. See, Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 129–30.

14. The smaller villages shall be given to and apportioned among the *mudaliyars*, *aratchis*, and native *lascarins* ([11]) of the land, according to the merits of each one, and with the same obligation of fire-locks and quit rents in money and also with the additional stipulation that they should reside within the fortifications of the said island with their wives.

15. All these said land alienations shall be entered in the second book, giving a separate record of each village, stating its name, the name of the person to whom it is given, the quit rent payable, and the extent of the obligation assigned to him.

16. The said villages may be given to the Portuguese for two or three lives, subject to the following conditions : that females may suceed to these properties on condition of paying those discharging the obligation of service with fire-locks while the holders remain unmarried ; that with the succession of each new life to the property, the superintendency [of revenue] may effect just increases in the quit rent payable ; and that they shall not have power to sell, partition or transfer the said villages, but rather that these shall pass undivided and entire to the person nominated by the last holder.

17. For its cultivation, the land is to be given to the inhabitants of the island letting be those who already are there in the said villages and lands, and where they are lacking, such native Christians of the island as wish will be installed, and if these too are found to be inadequate, the said lands should be given to those Christians of São Thomé ([12]) as are willing to proceed to the said island, to cultivate these lands and pay dues as is done in the villages of the north. ([13]) Should there be still more villages left for allotment, these may be distributed among those Christians of São Thomé who might wish to go the island to live there, with their households and families, subject to the obligations stated above.

18. And with the said ports and villages no *vidanaships* are to be granted, although these customarily go together, for these entail the administration of justice. I hold it proper to grant them for more limited periods, and for these posts Portuguese are to be selected, suitable and capable men.

19. I also hereby decree that the villages granted to the mudaliyars, *aratchis* and *lascarins* of the land shall be given not for a number of lives, nor during my pleasure nor until I should order otherwise, ([14]) because I understand that it was on this condition that the heathen kings used to make land grants, and that it would be advantageous to me to do so, at least to start with. ([15])

20. After you have thus distributed the said villages and entered the particulars thereof in the said book on the lines indicated above, a copy of the said book shall be prepared and sent for my examination and confirmation as I think fit and hold to be of service. In order that I may the better decide on confirming the said distribution it is my pleasure and I order that the said book of allotments shall first be seen by my viceroy of India and by such persons as he may choose for the purpose and be then sent to me with their comments. Until I have confirmed these grants, the owners thereof shall not be deemed to have sufficient title to prevent their being removed, should I so order ; this is not to be taken as applying only to those lands that are now being freshly allotted, but also to those already provided for by the orders of my viceroys and governors of the conquest, which have not been confirmed by me, because such grants are invalid by virtue of a provision I have passed on this matter, a copy of which will be annexed to these standing orders. ([16])

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(11) *Lascarins* were native soldiers, *aratchis* their captains, while *mudaliyars* were higher military officers.

(12) Mylapore, near Madras. Tradition connects this place with the apostle St. Thomas ; hence its name.

(13) By villages of the north, the Portuguese meant Bassein and Damão. In these areas, allotments of land were made to Portuguese, subject to three conditions (i) residence with the family in the town. (ii) payment of a quit rent and (iii) in certain cases, service in the army with a specified number of horses. (Goa. Cartas, Patentes e Alvaras II ff. 205-7 ; III ff. 33,71). It would be seen that the Portuguese king was attempting to assimilate the tenurial system in Ceylon to that existing in these areas.

(14) This sentence does not make sense, for it does not say on what terms the land is to be allotted. But if the text of the original is amended (p.35.) to read "....e senão em quanto eu ouver por bem" instead of the present "e não em quanto eu ouver por bem" then it makes sense. The translation will then read "....not for a number of lives, but during my pleasure and until I do not order othewise."

(15) That the Sinhalese should hold their lands on a less secure tenure than the Portuguese allottees was changed in 1626, on the recommendations of the captain-general, Constantino de Sa, and the *vedor da fazenda*, Ambrosio de Freitas. All allottees, be they Portuguese or Sinhalese, were henceforth to hold lands for three lives. C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-38*, p. 81.

(16) This provision, dated 19 February 1603, is reproduced in Andrade e Siva, *Legislação Portuguesa 1603–12*. p. 6. The Dutch considered this provision important enough to have it translated into their own language, some 15 years after they had successfully supplanted the Portuguese. The Dutch translation is given in *The Orientalist* III pp. 195–6.

21. I also order that the villages of the Chaleas, principally Bilitote and Cosgore ([17]) shall not be given away or allotted as they have been free on account of the service they render in peeling cinnamon; they shall not pay more than what they have hitherto been accustomed to pay to the *vidana* the which *vidanaship* shall be given to Portuguese servicemen, of known good conduct and who will treat the said Chaleas well and this for a term of years and not for life.

22. By my letters and instructions sent to the viceroy of India, I have ordered that certain of the principal ports on the coast of the said island between Mannar and Matara should be fortified, and it is now necessary that this should be put into execution for the preservation of the island and the enlargement of my revenues therein, and I therefore order this to be done, you and the said nominees deciding in which customs houses should be established and which ought to be fortified. Those which have been suggested to me are: Putalão, twelve leagues to the south of Mannar, Chiláo, six leagues further [south], Negumbo, seven, Columbo, five Panature, four, Calature, three Alicão, three, Galle, eight, Biligão, three and Mature, three. ([18])

23. And the said forts shall be fortified at the expense of my treasury in whatever manner that appears most convenient, and according to the importance of each one. Those Portuguese who may have villages in the neighbourhood shall be obliged to live within them with their households and the native chiefs of the said villages likewise, the better to secure them thereby and to quieten them through contact with the Portuguese.

24. The said customs houses shall not, however, be leased out, nor in any other manner given away or allotted; they shall either be rented out or [their revenues] collected for my treasury, as the royal dues which they are.

25. You are responsible for setting in motion the collection of the said dues and rents pertaining to my treasury, in money, spices, pitch ([19]), coir, timber or in any other goods. The spices and other goods [collected as dues] shall be deposited in the store-house of the factory in Colombo, of which the factor shall have one key, you another and the secretary a third. Goods received shall be entered to the account of the said factor according to my standing orders, and nothing shall be removed therefrom except by your order, which shall be [given in respect only of] those to be sent to Goa, to the kingdom ([20]) or to be used in my fleets. The remainder shall be sold by your order and the proceeds thereof deposited in a chest furnished with three keys, together with other funds coming in as quit rents, from the customs houses or as rents from the said island. All such receipts are to be entered in a book, which is to be kept in the same chest. To all persons making payments official receipts in the prescribed form, signed by you and the factor, shall be issued, and nothing shall be received without issuing an official receipt.

26. It is my pleasure and order that the captains of the fort of Colombo shall have no part in and shall not interfere in the spending of the said money, but that it shall all be handled by you and by the said factor. And neither he nor you are empowered to make any but the regular payments, of which a statement shall be drawn up annually, as laid down for the said fort and island by my regulations and those of my viceroys.

27. However, during the [period of] conquest, if there is a general in the island, items of extraordinary expenditure may be incurred on his orders, on which you will write 'seen' and in no other manner will they be carried to the account of the officials, and the general in making such disbursements shall observe due moderation, and shall report those he makes to the viceroy so that he may know how and upon what occasions he has made such payments.

28. I will not have the said general of the conquest issuing orders to customs house officers or to any officers to make payments, such orders being issued only to the factor, for him to pay these out of the funds in the chest, into which all cash is to flow. The same system shall apply to other goods in the storehouse, to which in the same way everything has to be taken and entered to the charge of the factor, as has been said. No requisitions issued by the said general contrary to this order shall be complied with, nor will you endorse them nor will they be carried to the account of the officers making the payments.

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(17) Welitara and Kosgoda, villages on the south-west coast of the island.

(18) The present spelling of these coastal towns and the distances in miles are: Mannar to Puttalam, 62; Puttalam to Chilaw 31; Chilaw to Negombo, 28; Negombo to Colombo, 22; Colombo to Panadura, 17; Panadura to Kalutara, 10; Kalutara to Alutgama, 10; Alutgama to Galle, 35; Galle to Weligama, 17; Weligama to Matara, 11.

(19) See appendix III B note 89 p. 74.

(20) To Portugal.

29. It is my pleasure and order that no treasury official shall deduct any sum of money due to him from that which he has to pay [into the treasury]; only after he has first actually paid and handed over what he has to pay, can he apply to be paid what is due to him.

30. In the order and payment of the soldiers serving in the said island, the form of the standing orders applying to the army-registry of the state of India shall be observed, and you will keep a copy of it in order that the payments can be made in conformity with it.

31. As I am given to understand that in the said island there are many things from which my treasury could benefit, such as in obtaining more cinnamon than is received by way of tribute, ([21]) and from elephants and other things from which the heathen kings used to draw profit, I now therefore charge you to inform yourself on all these with great diligence and what may be done in the matter, and you will advise me in special reports.

I am also charging the bishop of Cochin and the general of the conquest to do the same in the letters they write to me.

I order that you comply with and observe the contents of these standing orders and that you cause them to be complied with and observed in their entirety, any laws, ordinances, privileges, standing orders, provisions, letters, instructions and customs to the contrary notwithstanding. This *regimento* shall have the same validity as a letter passed in my name although it is to remain effective for more than one year. This shall not pass through the chancellary, notwithstanding the ordinances of the second book, titles 39 and 40, which provide otherwise. Simão Luis did this in Lisbon on 27 February of the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1608. I, the secretary, Antonio Villes de Simas caused this to be written. *King.*

Standing orders which Antão Vaz Freire, whom Your Majesty is sending out to India as superintendent of your revenue in the island of Ceylon, has to follow. For your Majesty to see.

These standing orders of His Majesty shall be complied with in all things and by all men as and in the manner therein contained. In Goa, 26 May 1609. I, the secretary, Francisco de Sousa Falcão, caused this to be written. *Frei Aleixo, Archbishop and Primate.* ([22])

These standing orders of His Majesty shall be complied with in all things and by all persons as and in the manner therein contained and declared, in order that Antão Vaz Freire, gentleman of the household of His Majesty and superintendent of revenue in Ceylon mentioned therein may give effect to them and observe them in their entirety. And I, the secretary, Francisco de Sousa Falcão did this in Goa on 26 August 1609. Andre Furtado de Mendonça ([23]).

These standing orders of His Majesty shall be complied with in all things, as contained therein, by whoever serves in the office of superintendent of revenue of Ceylon as ordered by His Majesty. At " Nossa Senhora do Cabo " on the first of October 1609 Ruy Lourenço de Tavora. ([24]).

These standing orders [and] the provision of His Majesty attached to the said standing orders, were all copied out here by me, Francisco d' Aguiar de Macedo, secretary of revenue accounts and compared [with the original] with the official who signed here below with me in agreement.

Francico de Aguiar de Macedo—Phelippe da Costa e Cunha.

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(21) Some time in the 16th century, the king of Kotte appears to have begun paying the Portuguese a tribute of cinnamon, probably in return for military assistance against the king of Sitawaka. To start with, the amount of tribute was 300 *bahars* a year, and this was later raised to 400. See on this question, Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594–1612*. pp. 10 10 n, 138–9, 150 and the sources quoted there.

(22) The archbishop of Goa, who officiated as governor from May 1606 to May 1609 on the death in Malacca of the viceroy Martin Affonço de Castro.

(23) Governor in Goa for three months from May 1609, until the arrival of the viceroy, Ruy Lourenço de Tavora.

(24) Viceroy from September 1609 to December 1612.

The " *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* " [Our Lady of the Cape] was a hermitage on the way to Mormugão from Panjim (in Goa), the hermitage being attached to the Viceroy's country-house. The site is likely to have been that of the present " *Cabo Ra j Niwas* ", the governor's official residence.

Appendix II A

COPIA de Regimento que se deo a M[ano]el Mascarenhas Homem,* quando foi por Geral de Ceilão, enviado pelo V[iso] Rey D[om] Jeronimo de Azevedo. Goa XXIII de Abril de [1]614.

Dom Hieronimo dazavedo do conselho de Sua Mag[estad]e, seu V[iso] Rey e Capitão geral da India ett. faço saber a vos Manoel Mas[carenhas] home[m] fidalgo da casa de Sua Mag[estad]e e do seu conselho q[ue] conciderando em a muita importancia de q[ue] he a Conquista de ceillão E quanto conve[m] ao serviço de sua mag[estad]e E segurança daquella Ilha que o capitão geral q[ue] para ella for elleito, seja fidalgo de authoridade qualidade E experiencia qual se Requere para cargo de tanta importancia como aquelle he vos Ellegi para elle tendo por certo que dareis nelle a satisfação q[ue] de vos se espera para q[ue] eu a tenha tambem de haver feito Elleição de Vossa peçoa para este lugar por haver gastado nelle E naquella conquista o melhor de minha hidade E me aver sua mag[estad]e tirado delle p[ar]a o governo deste Estado e porq[ue] de minha parte não fique officio algu[m] por f[a]zer me pareceo dever vos de fazer algus [m]as advertencias neste Regimento p[ar]a vos servirem de Roteiro as q[ua]es são as seguintes.

Primeiramente tanto q[ue] desta barra Vos partirdes navegareis direito a columbo sem tomar porto algu[m] desta costa indo a correndo sempre ate a ponta do Cabo de Comorim donde atravessareis fazendo o caminho p[e]lo Rumo de sueste atee verdes terra, E se ella vos tardar, E a não virdes em sangradura e meya arribais a lesueste, E dahy não passeis, E suceedendo tomardes por gilavento de Columbo tendes o porto de Negumbo E de chilao, onde Vos podeis desembarcar mas o de negumbo tenho por milhor por aver nelle mais commodidade de embarcações p[ar]a a desembarcacão E ser mais facil o a carreto do fato p[ar]a Columbo p[o]r ter Rio por dentro atee o dito Columbo E se tomardes a Costa com tempo E mar bravo q[ue] vos não possais chegar aella podeis vos hir recolher a Calapetti q[ue] he porto seguro E daly podeis vir tambem por dentro p[e]lo Rio q[ue] he caminho muy facil e seguro E não *faltando* (1) de embarcações como de cules.

Chegado a Columbo E tomado posse de cargo de capitão geral tomareis *aly casas que se servirão somente de despensa e de que* (1) vos agasalhardes quando *algum dia vos relevar vir ao dito Colombo* (1) a algu[m] negocio, porem vossa morada E assento ha de ser [na Mal ?]vana porq[ue] assy cumpri, (p[ar]a a gente) daquella Ilha *saber* (1) q[ue] *tem* (1) aly que [m] os governa e a que[m] recorrão co[m] suas petições e Requerimentos—

Todo o tempo q[ue] Residi naquella Ilha dei mesa aos cap[ita]es q[ue] me hião demandar com seus Requerimentos, E outros q[ue] se desarmavão por falta de g[en]te E a algu[n]s fidalgos se acertavão de se achar naquella Ilha, E a outros hospedes q[ue] costumão hir me demandar por algu[m] respeito porq[ue] como la não ha estalage[n]s se não achasse[m] na casa de capitão geral de comer, passarião fomes E onde a barriga não anda chea, não ha dizer bem da festa, E como aquillo he co[n]quista E serviço trabalhoso conve[m] q[ue] o cap[ita]m g[e]ral farte, E satisfaça para terem gosto de o acompanhar E temos exemplo no Evangelho q[ue] senão acha nelle quererem os judeos fazer a Christo nosso s[enho]r Rey senão quando os fartou q[ue] fez o milagre dos paes E dos peixes porq[ue] este neg[oci]o de dar de comer obriga E liga muito a amisade entre os home [n]s. E assy Espero, q[ue] neste particular não so me queiraes imitar, mas ainda exceder E avantejar—

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* This document is from *caixa* 3 (India), Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon. In some parts of this document, the writing is faded. In the same archives (in caixa 4) is another *regimento* issued by the same viceroy Azevedo, to Homem's successor, Nuno Alvares Pereira (1616–1618), in which some of the passages in this *regimento* are reproduced *verbatim*. Where this appears to be the case, I have given the reading from that document wherever the present document is illegible, such places being indicated in a footnote.

(1) Reading supplied by reference to Nuno Alvares Pereira's *regimento*, in Caixa 4 (India) at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon.

As cousas da nossa religião E augmento da fe catholica são as que hão de ter o prim[ei]ro lugar, E como assy seja me pareceo dever vollas emcomendar E tratar dellas tambem em prim[ei]ro lugar, porque o intento principal q[ue] moveo a El Rey Nosso S[enho]r a Conquistar aquella Ilha he o da Xpandade E da converção de tantas almas como nella ha o que os ministros ecclesiasticos nunca poderão bem conseguir sem o favor E ajuda dos cap[itã]es gerães E posso com verdade afirmar q[ue] maes gentios converti Eu do q[ue] co[n]verterão os padres porq[ue] naquella Ilha a Christandade segue as armas se ellas prevallessem de nossa *parte* (2) os christaos tambem se multiplicão, E a christandade cresse *ao olho* (2).....e assy conve[m] q[ue] favoreçaes aos ministros Ecclesiasticos ordenando q[ue] se lhes dee a ordinaria e sustentação e visitando as igrejas e achando vos em or huãs festas quando vos vagar tempo de *g[uer]ra* (3) e dando lhes ajuda p[ar]a obras dellas, e para as mais necessidades q[ue] tivere[m].

Apos a Christandade me pareceo lembrar vos a Justiça, por[que] onde esta falta, falta Deos tambem, e o q[ue] mais vos encomendo he *fazer della* (3) a aquella gente chingalla natural daquella ilha e nisto aveis de ter grande, E particular cuidado, E em os defender das forças e tiranias q[ue] lhes fazem os Vidanas, e portugeses senhorios das aldeas, porque se a gente daq[uel]la Ilha estiver contente E virem q[ue] são senhores de seu E q[ue] lhe (4) não hão de tomar estara a Ilha sempre segura a obediencia de sua mag[estad]e o q[ue] sera pelo contr[ari]o se faltar justiça e que[m] os defenda, E porq[ue] os termos judiciaes de nossos ouvidores, e mais justiças são vagarozos, E de muitas custas, E aquella gente pela mor parte he muita pobre, E as demandas de pouco parte ordenei na malvana hum tribunal de chingalas nobres, E experimentados co[m] os mutiares del Rey q[ue] todos chegavão o numero de oito ou menos quando algu[n]s faltavão, mas nunca erao menos de quatro a estes acodião as demandas ou careas (como se la chamao) E elles as Ventilavão e ouvirão as partes, E despois vinhão sentencear tudo comigo se o caso hera grave q[ue] se hera de pouco parte por sy o fazião E sou de parecer q[ue] corraes pela mesma ordem q[ue] la vos informarao de q[ue] nisto avia—

Trabalheis que entre os soldados não aja brigas E discordias porq[ue] são muy danosas E prejudicines (5) castigais com Rigor aos culpados porq[ue] a soldadesca daquella Ilha he muy solta E atrevida E conve[m] q[ue] sintao imperio E procurais terdes sempre da vossa sevadeira algu[m] rancho para co[m] isso dominardes aos maes E não consintaes fugidas p[or] t[er]ra castigais co[m] força para q[ue] temão cometer aquelle caminho q[ue] assy se não foi hu[m] *dia* (6) se hirião todos—

Custumavão os soldados daquella Ilha andarem caleceando p[e]las aldeas E obrigando aos pobres lavradores a lhes darem de comer e muitas vezes do q[ue] *elles* (7) não tinhão nem podião em *avoltas* (7) disso os *roubavão* (7) e as veses lhes *forçavão* (7) *as* mulheres e as filhas e *resultarão daqui que por fugirem os pobres de semelhantes semrazoes e forças se vão viver* (7) pellas serras E despovoão as aldeas e *deixavão nas* (7) e muitas veses por semear o q[ue] em grave perda E danificamento das t[er]ras allem do grande Escandallo E odio intranhavel q[ue] concebem contra o governo portugues. Eu procurava quanto podia por atalhar isto E algu[m]as vezes mandava enforcar algu[n]s encommendo vos muito q[ue] façais o mesmo, E tenhaes sobre este caso particular advertencia porq[ue] de se atalharem estes insultos resultara grande quietação aquella Ilha E se estinguira algu[m] odio seo tem a nasção portugueza, e isto vos hey por mui encomendado.

Entre aquella nasção chingualla he muy usado E avido por cousa facil passarem se ao enemigo, E co[m] a mesma facilidade se tornão a vir q[ue] he gente de Viva quem vence principalmente os q[ue] vive[m] nas t[er]ras muis vesinhas aos enemigos sobre o q[ue] tereis sempre grande vigilancia, E os q[ue] forem cabeças de gente ou de aldeas costumados a fazer estas passage[n]s (q[ue] la chamão prelicarrios) farreis matar todos, E a nenhum perdoareis, mas não sejão estas mortes em pubrico senão de noute, ou mandallas fazer pelas vidanas ou cabeças da gente, porq[ue] a Justiça publica por semelhantes casos faz Espanto aos outros E a temorisão se os q[ue] são culpados no mesmo caso E sendo em segredo nenhu[m] pergunta por isso, q[ue] ja sabem q[ue] foy ordem del Rey porq[ue] o estar oje Ceilão tão quieto procede de a terra estar mondada de velhaços E alevantados de q[ue] mandey matar infinitos no descurso de t[em]po q[ue] estive se naquella Ilha—

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2. Word only partly legible.
3. The reading is from Nuno Alvares Pereira's *regimento*.
4. Reading not clear.
5. This word could also be read as *por judiciaes*, but in Nuno Alvares Pereira's *regimento* the writing is clearer, and the word certainly is *prejudiciaes*. As this reading fits the context better, I have adopted it here.
6. The reading is that of Nuno Alvares Pereira's *regimento*.
7. Readings from Nuno Alvares Pereira's *regimento*.

Nas materias da fazenda de sua mag[estad]e tenho pouco de q[ue] vos fazer lembrança porq[ue] ha naquella Ilha veedor da fazenda por sua magest[ad]e com Regimento seu q[ue] mandou a ella q[ue] deveis mandar cumprir int[ei]ramente pore[m] hu[m]a cousa so vos lembro, E he q[ue] não consintaes q[ue] se faça despesa algu[m]a do que El Rey tem naquella Ilha sem primeiro a Conquista estar provido porq[ue] deste ponto depende assegurança della E vosso descanço E porq[ue] as rendas daquella Ilha são poucas ordenou sua magestade p[or] suas instrucções se faça estanque na canella e q[ue] toda corra p[or] conta de sua fazenda para com o procedido della se sustentar a conquista E para se isto pôr em effeito vos dara o secretario as provisões e despachos necessarios co[n]forme as instrucções E orde[n]s de sua mag[estad]e que todas fareis cumprir muy inteiramente na conformidade dellas sem repararde na contradição ou clamor q[ue] o povo daquella fortaleza de Columbo sobre isso fizer, q[ue] sospeito o hão de tomar mao p[e]la *posse em q*[ue] (8) Estavão de se lograrem desta droga com mais larguesa, E soltura do *que* (8) dereito lhes pertence, E sem admitirdes sobre isso rezão algu[m]a fareis Executar E correr a nova ordem q[ue] levais em materia de canella—

As materias da guerra são mais proprias de vossa proffessão E faculdade q[ue] todas as maes, E as q[ue] maes importão porq[ue] p[ar]a ella se buscão cap[ita]es experimentados E valerosos para a saberem fazer, E governar E por em vos concorrerem estas partes, E outras q[ue] deixo vos elligi p[ar]a este cargo naquella Ilha ja oje não ha guerra senão dentro em Candea onde ella fica sendo mais trabalhosa por respeito do clima, E sitio da t[er[ra q[ue] he fria E montousa, E os enemigos tem onde se assoutem metendosse p[e]las serras em lugares muy escusos, E intractaveis, E p[or] este respeito hia continuando co[m] a guerra daquelle Reino entrando nelle duas vezes no anno co[m] todo o exercito, p[ar]a assy o hir co[n]sumindo, E gastando com mortes E Captiveiro de gente E gastando os mantimentos fazendo passar todo o gado para as nossas terras Conquistadas, E no verão gastava la sempre os meses de janeiro, fev-[ereir]o E março E em Abril me Recolhia e no inverno parte de Julho e todo agosto E em Septembro me Recolhia, se as chuvas me não deixavão campear porq[ue] se davão lugar me deixava andar la attee outobro p[or] q[ue] co[m] este governo da guerra se hade estancar aquelle Reino atee de todo se despovoar e Consumir E co[m] tal ordem q[ue] nenhu[m] macho q[ue] passava de catorze anos p[ar]a riba se dee vida.

Aos soldados daquella conquista se pagão dous quarteis no anno hu[m] no verão E outro no inverno, mas hasse de lhe fazer a paga a tempo q[ue] o Arayal ha de fazer jornada porque deste modo se ajuntão E não *te*[*m*] *tempo* (9) de se tornarem a Espalhar. As estancias dos capitães hão de ser de trinta ate trinta e cinco home[n]s q[ue] se são de menos he pouca gente E se são de mais dão tralbalho aos sustentar—

A gente preta trazia repartida em quatro cabeças em q[ue] lhes tinha repartidas as vidanas de todas as corllas porq[ue] hera assy necessario para podere[m] ter a gente a seu mandar, E p[ar]a lhe acudirem co[m] mais pontualidade tenho sabido q[ue] Dom fr[ancis]co perverteo em parte esta ordem mandallaeis tornar aos termos em q[ue] a deixey porq[ue] com isso aveis de ter mais descanço E hade ser El Rey melhor servido E os capitães E cabeças *a que se* (10) trazia emcarregada esta gente herão todas muy esforçados E de muita experiencia daquella guerra E creo q[ue] nenhu[n]s outros se poderão buscar q[ue] sejão igoaes a elles mandareis logo fazer recenha de toda a gente p[e]los Rois do meu tempo E assy a fareis das armas mandando aparecer todas assy Espingardas como mosquetes q[ue] me dizem estão muy deminuidos p[e]lo pouco q[ue] se tratou de guerra E q[ue] se tem muita parte da gente esbandada (11) E tirada do serviço E p[ar]a a tornar ajuntar sera bom ordenar hu[m]a paga de larim a cada lascarim, E aos araches dobrado q[ue] co[m] isso todos aparecerão donde quer q[ue] estiverem, E tendes la Simão Correa E luis Pinto q[ue] são capitães de grão conselho E muy praticos daquella guerra de que deveis fazer muita conta E vos hey por muy encomendados, e delles vos podereis informar de todas as cousas daquella Ilha.—

quando entrardes por candea nunca dividaes vosso Arayal p[or] maes espaço q[ue] de hu[m] dia para q[ue] a noite se torne[m] todos ajuntar co[m] vosso E inda isto seja quando se entender q[ue] o enemigo não anda encorporado e q[ue] anda afugentado afastado do vosso Arayal q[ue] não sendo assy nunca conve[m] dividir ne[m] fazer jornadas compridas, E caminhar com tal ordem q[ue] a dianteira possa ouvir a briga da retaguarda se suceder a nella porq[ue] a t[er]ra de Candea he muy perigosa e a gente della muy importuna e q[ue] sabe executar qualquer occasião boa se a fortuna ou nosso descuido lha offerecer, por isso conve[m] sempre andar precatado E co[m] tal ordem, como se cada hora ajaes de Encontrar o enemigo—

8. The reading here is doubtful.
9. The reading is that of Nuno Alvares Pereira's document.
10. The reading here is doubtful.
11. Probably an error for *esbandalhada*, broken to pieces, destroyed or thrown into confusion.

A forte de balane procurey de o ter sempre bem provido e o mandareis fortificar cada vez mais porq[ue] co[m] elle tendes sempre posto o pee no pescoço a Candea E he de muita importancia conservarsse.

Nesta vossa chegada aveis de ser muy importunado co[m] petições de Aldeas E os casados de Columbo hão de pretender emquanto sois novo na t[er]ra de acressantar algu[n]s pedaços as suas q[ue] possue[m]: pareceome dever vos advertir disto p[ar]a q[ue] vos ajaes muy conciderado E prim[ei]ro vos informareis da verdade, E estes dous capitaes simão correa E luis pinto voladirão, E o mutiar Dom J[e]r[oni]mo meu afilhado q[ue] me servia, q[ue] he pessoa de q[ue] deveis f[a]zer muita co[n]ta, E Chamallo logo a vosso serviço q[ue] sem elle não podereis dar espediente ao governo daquella Ilha.

Logo tanto q[ue] entrardes na Malvana mandais ajuntar todos os off[icia]es ferreiros, mestres de fazer espingardas, E lanças, E todo o genero de armas E gorippos p[ar]a os hasteas e mandais f[a]zer a mor cantidade dellas q[ue] for possivel, E os carpint[ei]ros tendo tambem ao vosso mandar, E todos os mais off[icia]es dandolhas vidanas gente de vossa casa para assy os terdes sempre promptos pera o q[ue] cumprir, E deste ponto fazei muito caso, porq[ue] importa para poderdes ser bem servido, E as aldeas q[ue] tinhão obrigação de dar ferro prendellas, E fazellas acodir com elle ainda que estejão Ja dadas a particulares porq[ue] o serviço del Rey precede a tudo—

Hum dos principaes ([12]) q[ue] se entende[m] serem necessarios para a Conquista de Candea e *para* ([13]) se tirar aquelle Reyno as forças E obrigallo a se Render he tirarlhe comercio da outra costa donde se prove de monições, Roupas E socorro de gente E tem saida a sua areca, elefantes E outra faz[end]as o q[ue] tudo se *lhe com* munica ([14]) p[e]los portos de baticalou, Rio de agoa doce, Triquilemalle e p[e]lo Reino de Jafanapatão E pera reconhecer aquelles portos E me determinar no modo com que poderia atalhar E fechar de todo esse comercio, passey aquellas partes em peçoa E achey q[ue] convinha fazermos dous fortes naquella contra costa hum no Rio de baticalou, outro em triquilimalle, Em hu[m]a emceada muy boa E segura E capas de Recolher naos e todo o genero de embarcações q[ue] esta entre o pagode de triquilimalle e o lugar de tambalagama. Mas naquella conquista não ha cabedal p[ar]a a fabrica destes fortes, E p[or] isso determiney mandar daqui la hu[m]a armada para este effeito, mas a guerra do norte e a falta q[ue] tive de gente me não derão lugar tanto q[ue] as guerras q[ue] de presente tem entre maos se aquietarem logo hei de pôr este desenho *em*([14]) effeito, E poder ser q[ue] eu mesmo em pessoa passe a aquellas partes, para tirar o Reino de Jafanapatão do poder daquelle Rey bramene, E Reduzillo em hu[m]a capitania com q[ue] somente os povos delle Reconheção a sua mag[estad]e E Recolhão p[ar]a sua fazenda todos os Rendimentos E co[m] este so Remedio se fica dando tudo o maes.—

Bem sey q[ue] o estado da comquista de ceillão E as forças q[ue] oje tem não permitem f[a]zer Jornada p[ar]a aquella parte, nem he minha tenção co[m] isto q[ue] apponto obrigarvos a isso E somente a tenho de vos fazer a lembrança de tudo p[ar]a q[ue] quando o tempo der lugar estejaes advertido E co[m] tudo se tiverdes novas q[ue] aquelles portos estão chegados embarcações, ou q[ue] estão p[ar]a partir podereis mandar la hu[m]a cabeça de gente preta co[m] algu[m]as co[m]panhias de portugueses q[ue] bastara p[ar]a as tomar, ou queimar como eu p[or] algu[m]as vezes fis p[ar]a co[m] isso ir cessando aquelle comercio ou pelo menos vire[m] a elle menos embarcações, E com mais Receo, E disto tereis particular cuidado por ser muy importante desenho contra candea, E co[m] q[ue] mayour guerra lhe fareis.—

Convem muito q[ue] neste inverno façais hu[m]a entrada em Candea no fim do mes de Julho com tudo o Arayal porque como Dom francisco a não fez neste verão nem no inverno passado estar a gente de Candea com mais brio do q[ue] lhe deixey ; E por isso conve[m] multiplicallas e tornar a me ....([15]) da vossa gente, em officio ; E não vos limite *nem aponto . . . porque* ([15]) ajaes de fazer a dita entrada porq[ue] la o determinareis co[m] os cap[ita]es daquella Ilha principalmente co[m] os cabeças da gente preta q[ue] vos apponto. E comforme ao q[ue] melhor vos parecer assy o executaries regulando vos p[e] la gente q[ue] la achardes assy branca como preta.—

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12. In the *regimento* issued to Alvares Pereira, *principaes* is followed by *meos*, (ways or means). It is omitted in this document probably by an oversight.

13. The reading is that of Nuno Alvares Pereira's *regimento*.

14. Doubtful reading.

15. Only partly legible.

quando daquella Ilha me parti deixei ordem, q[ue] se fizessem dous tranqueiras porq[ue] tinha eu determinado fazellas senão suceedera virme dela hu[m]a dellas em Urugorem q[ue] he no cabo das sete corlas, E outra em Oua da banda de denavaca em hu[m] daquelles paços da sua serra a q[ue] ja me não a lembra o nome porq[ue] os muitos cuidados me tem tirada a memoria delles, mas la vos apontara tudo simão correa E os maes, q[ue] todos são mercedores de muito favor pelos grandes serviços, que tem feitos a sua mag[estad]e naquella Ilha E por q[ue] fallo nestas cabeças me pareceo dever vos advertir q[ue] vos hão la de f[a]zer delles mil queixas dizendo q[ue] Roubão a t[er]ra E q[ue] enrriquece[m] E os trabalhos daquella conquista não se podem aturar senão com tirar delles grande proveito e nenhu[n]s se hão de por naquelles lugares, q[ue] o não procurem, E avendo de ser assy milhor, he servir dos q[ue] prestão, E são ja mestres q[ue] vão ensinar outros de novo, e ao capitão geral daquella Ilha, mais importa ter bo[n]s capitães, E fazer a *guerra* ([16]) com Reputação E Credito q[ue] arriscallo por n[en]hu[m] interesse E este conselho vos dou como amigo q[ue] he o q[ue] eu seguy emquanto estive naquella Ilha, na qual ninguem quer aturar o serviço ....([17]) com se lhe offerecer gr[an]de proveito ou por menos de se lhe .....([17]) verdadeiro *atee nos pais e* parentes e criados deste meio me valle sempre para poder ter cap[ita]es naquella conquista onde deos permita dar vos os bo[n]s successos que este estado ha mister, E q[ue] Eu vos procurarey sempre com todos os bons officios, q[ue] forem possiveis, E significarey a sua mag[estad]e a grande obrigação em q[ue] vos esta p[or] vos offerecerdes neste tempo a hu[m]a empresa tão trabalhosa para q[ue] se sirva de vos fazer a merce, q[ue] por tão grande serviço vos he devida allem de outros muitos, E não menores, q[ue] lhe tendes feito escrito em goa a xxiii de abril de 614. E eu o sec[retari]o A fr[ancis]co Roiz deguevara o fis escrever O v[iso] Rey.

16. This word is only partly legible.
17. Illegible.

Appendix II B

COPY of the standing orders given to Manoel Mascarenhas Homem [1], when he went as general of Ceylon, sent by the viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo [2], Goa 23 of April of [1] 614.

Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, of the council of His Majesty, his viceroy and captain-general of India etc. make known to you, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, gentleman of the household of His Majesty and of his council, that considering the great importance of the conquest of Ceylon and how fitting it is for the service of His Majesty and the security of that island that the captain-general who may be elected for it should be a nobleman of the authority, standing and experience demanded by a post of such importance as that, I have elected you to the same, firmly believing that you will give therein the satisfaction that is expected of you and also in order that I shall have the satisfaction of having elected your person to that post because in it and in that conquest I have spent the best years of my life [3] and because it was from there that His Majesty withdrew me for the governance of this state. And because for my part there is nothingfurther I might do, it seems to me that I should make a few observations in these standing orders to serve you as a guide. Hence the following :—

Firstly as soon as you leave this bar [4], you will set sail directly for Colombo, without touching any other port on this coast running along it until you reach the point of Cape Comorin from where you will make your crossing, setting a course on a south-east bearing until you sight land. If this is delayed and you do not sight land in one and a half day's sailing, you will lay an east south easterly course and keep to it. Should it happen that you make land to the leeward of Colombo, you have the port of Negombo and that of Chilaw where you can disembark, but I consider the port of Negombo the better one, for it is better furnished with boats for the disembarkation and more convenient for the carriage of baggage to Colombo, on account of the inland river from there to Colombo [5]. And if you make your landfall when the weather is rough and the seas stormy, making it impossible to make Colombo, you can betake yourself to Kalpitiya, which is a safe port and from where too you can pass within land by way of the river, which is a very convenient and safe route and one not lacking in either boats or labourers.

Having arrived in Colombo and taken charge of the office of captain-general, you will occupy the buildings there which are used only as storehouses and to house you when some day it behoves you to return to Colombo on some business, but your permanent quarters and seat has to be in Malvana, [6] because I acted thus, in order that the people of the island may know that they have there someone to govern them and to whom they can present their petitions and requests.

During the whole of my stay in that island, I kept public table for those captains who came to me with their requests, to others who lacked employment because of a shortage of troops, to some noblemen who happened to find themselves in that island and to such other visitors as used to come to me for some reason or other, and as there are no hostelries there, if they fail to find something to eat at the captain-general's house, they will have to starve and where the stomach is not full, who will speak well of the entertainment ? As that is a conquest and service there exacting, it is but proper

1. Captain-general in Ceylon from May 1614 to February 1616.

2. Viceroy in Goa from December 1612 to November 1616.

3. Azevedo had spent seventeen years in Ceylon, from December 1594 to November 1612.

4. The bar of Goa.

5. The Portuguese word *rio* means a river, but it is sometimes used for a lagoon (e.g. *rio de Baticalo* for the Batticaloa lagoon). Now there is neither a river nor a lagoon stretching from Negombo to Colombo. (The rivers in Ceylon generally originate in the central highlands and radiate towards the coast, and none runs parallel to the coast). Since these two possibilities are ruled out, we are left to conclude that Azevedo could have been referring only to the canal between Negombo and Colombo. If this was the case, the hitherto accepted idea that this canal is a legacy of the Dutch has be to abandoned, and its construction dated to pre-Portuguese times. This finds support in Queyroz's work, which refers to the construction of a canal joining Negombo to Kotte by Vira Parakramabahu (Queyroz p. 25) possibly Vira Parakramabahu VIII (1478–1489).

Did this canal stretch beyond Negombo, perhaps to Puttalam (as it now does), or as far as Kalpitiya ? This is a question that arises from what Azevedo says later in the same paragraph. In the first place, the canal need not have gone up to Kalpitiya for this passage to make sense, for the Kalpitiya lagoon extends up to Puttalam, thus making it possible to sail by boat across the lagoon and the canal journey could thus begin at Puttalam.

6. Fourteen miles from Colombo, and on the banks of the Kelani river. The word Malvana means flowery glade. Other Portuguese have noted the freshness of its air. The foundations of the captain-general's residence still exist, and the surrounding area is even now known as *maligawatta* (i.e. palace-garden).

that the captain-general should feed and satisfy them, so that they will accompany him with pleasure. And we have an example in the Gospels where we do not find the Jews wishing to make Our Lord Christ their king except when he fed them, performing the miracle of the loaves and fishes. (7) This business of giving food obliges and very much strengthens the ties of friendship among men. I therefore hope that in this regard you will want not only to follow me, but also to excel and surpass me.

Matters of our religion and the spread of the Catholic faith are things which ought to take first place, and as such I would commend them to you and deal with them also in the first place, because the principal purpose that impelled the king our lord to conquer that island is that of Christianity and the conversion of many souls as are therein. The ministers of the religion can never achieve this without the patronage and help of the captains-general, and I can affirm with truth that I converted more heathen than the fathers did, for in that island Christianity follows the arms: if ours prevail, Christians multiply and Christianity progresses before our very eyes ..... It is therefore proper that you should extend your patronage to ministers of religion, ordering the payment of clerical stipends and maintenance, visiting the churches, and whenever you find yourself free from fighting on feast days, giving them help in their celebrations and assisting them in any other way.

After Christianity, I would draw your attention to justice, for where this is lacking, God himself is lacking too. What I most urge you is to do justice to the native Sinhalese of that island and in this you ought to exercise great and special care, defending them against coercion and oppression by the *vidanas* and Portuguese lords of villages, for if the people of that island are content and realize that they are masters of their own and that it will not be taken from them, the island will remain permanently secure in obedience to His Majesty, but it will fall out clean contrary if there is none to mete out justice or to defend them. And because the judicial processes of our crown judges and other justices are dilatory and cost a great deal of money and these people are for the most part very poor, and their plaints of small consequence, I set up in Malvana a tribunal consisting of high-born and experienced Sinhalese who with the *mohottiyars* (8) of the king came to the number of eight, or fewer when some were missing, but never less than four, and to these were presented their plaints or *kariyas* (9) (as these were called there). After examining these and hearing the parties, they then proceeded to sentence them with me if the case was a major one, and if not, by themselves. (10) I am of opinion that you ought to proceed in the same manner, and those there in that island will tell you what used to obtain in this matter.

You will strive to prevent quarrels or disharmony among the troops as these are very damaging and detrimental, and you will have the offenders rigorously punished, for the soldiery of that island run very loose and turbulent, and they need to have a taste of discipline, and you will ensure that you have a personal following of some companies with which do dominate the rest. You will not forgive those who escape by land, and punish them severely, so that others will fear to follow that path. If this is not done, one day everyone will be gone.

The soldiers in that island are in the habit of roaming about the villages and forcing the poor cultivators to give them food and often when they have no food and cannot, they rob them, and occasionally use force on their wives and daughters in retaliation. The upshot of this is that these poor people to escape from such wrongs and oppression go to the mountains to live, thus depopulating and deserting the villages and quite often their cultivation too, which is a grave loss and detrimental to the land, quite apart from the sense of outrage and the deep hatred which they come to feel against the Portuguese government. Whenever I could, I sought to put a stop to this and sometimes had a few culprits hung, and I recommend that you do the same. You will pay special attention to this matter, because stopping these outrages will result in greater peace in that island, and reduce some of the odium in which the Portuguese people are held, and for this reason I very much commend this matter to you.

Among those Sinhalese people, crossing over to the enemy side and then later nonchalantly coming back to the Portuguese side is quite usual and is regarded as quite a casual matter. On these hail-to-the-winner type of people, chiefly on those living in the areas nearest to the enemy, you will keep a close watch, and where those who are in the habit of making these about-turns (who are called *prelicarrios*) are popular leaders

7. John—IV—10-15.

8. *Mohottiyars* were officers with secretarial functions.

9. See page 22 note 87.

10. Azevedo here gives us the impression that it was he who originated this tribunal. But is likely that he was only continuing an institution inherited from the Kotte rulers—the *mahanaduwa* or the great court. On this, see R. Pieris, *Sinhalese Social Organization, The Kandyan period*, (Colombo 1956) p. 157.

or village chiefs, you will have them all killed, pardoning none. But such killings should be carried out only in the dark, and not in public or else have them carried out by the *vidanas* or chiefs, because public punishment for such cases appals others and terrifies those guilty of the same offence. If [however] these executions are carried out secretly, no one raises a question, because they know at once that it was the king's orders. That Ceylon is so quiet today is due to the weeding out of the mischief-makers and rebel elements, of whom I ordered no end to be liquidated during my stay in the island.

On matters of royal revenue, I have little to draw your attention to, because there is in that island a superintendent of revenue on behalf of His Majesty with his standing orders, which I sent there, and which you must order to be fully observed. I must remind you of one thing, however, and it is that you should not allow any funds from amongst those that the king has in that island to be spent until the conquest has first been provided for, because on this point rests the security of the island and your own peace of mind. And as the revenues of that island are so few, His Majesty laid down by his instructions the creation of a monopoly in cinnamon and ordered that it should be run entirely on the treasury's account, so that with its proceeds the conquest may be supported. For this to be implemented, the secretary will give you the necessary provisions and despatches, according to the instructions and orders of His Majesty, all of which you will cause to be complied with fully as are therein contained, without paying any attention to the opposition or protests which the citizens of that fort of Colombo ([11]) may make on this, who I suspect will take this ill, on account of the power they enjoyed to traffic in this spice with more liberty and freedom than was theirs by right. And without admitting any argument whatsoever on the matter you will cause this new order you are carrying on the subject of cinnamon to be implemented and observed.

Matters of war are more proper to your profession and abilities than all others and they matter more, for they attract experienced and courageous captains wanting to learn how to wage and conduct a war. It is because you are endowed with these and other qualities that I need not mention that I elected you for this post. In that island there is no fighting going on today except in the interior in Kandy and the war there remains most laborious, on account of the climate, which is cold, and the terrain, which is mountainous and the enemies there having places of refuge hidden away in remote and inaccessible mountainous areas. For this reason, I carried continuous war into that kingdom, attacking it twice a year with the entire body of troops with the aim of making its life ebb away, by killing off the inhabitants or capturing them, by destroying its food supplies and driving the cattle away into our conquered territories. In the summer, I always spent the months of January, February, and March there on this mission and in April I withdrew. In the winter, I spent a part of July and the whole of August there and retired in September, if the rains did not allow us to camp and go on until October. So that it is with this regime of war that kingdom is to be bled to death, until it is entirely depopulated and laid waste, and in such manner that the life of no male of fourteen years or above is spared.

To the soldiers of that conquest, two quarterages a year are paid, one in the summer and the second in the winter, but the payment ought to be made at the time the army is about to set out, because in this manner the troops come together and have no time to disperse again. A company under a captain ought to consist of from 30 to 35 soldiers. A lower number is insufficient and if there are more, feeding them presents a problem.

The native troops I kept grouped in four blocs, ([12]) into which the *vidanas* of all the *korales* had divided them, for that was necessary if they were to keep the troops under their command and ready to come quickly to their assistance. I understand that Dom Francisco ([3]) partly changed this system and you will order a restoration of what I left, because with this you will have less trouble and the king will be better served. The captains and chiefs to whom these troops were entrusted were all men of mettle and experienced in that war, and I believe that no others could be found who would be their equals. You will immediately make a muster of all natives forces according to the lists of my time and also order that all arms—firelocks as well as muskets—be produced before you, because I understand that their numbers are greatly diminished, owing to lack of interest in military matters, and that the militia is for the most part disbanded and the troops taken off service. To reassemble them it would

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11. The citizen body in Colombo consisted of the Portuguese settlers in Ceylon. They formed a powerful 'trade union' and pressure groupe.

12. Each under its *dissava* or provincial governor.

13. Dom Francisco de Menezes, captain-general from November 1612 to 1614.

be good to order a payment of one *larin* per *lascarin* and double that to the *aratchis*; with this everyone, wherever they may be, will turn up. In Simão Correa and Luis Pinto [14] you have there captains of the highest counsel and much experienced in that war, of whom you ought to take great account. I am pleased to recommend them; you will be able to obtain information on everything in that island from them.

When you enter Kandy, never divide your troops for longer than one day, so that at night they all join you, and even this may be undertaken only when it is known that the enemy is not marching in a body and is scattered in flight at a distance from your force; when such is not the case, it is unwise to divide the troops or make long marches, and you should advance in such order that the advance guard can hear the rearguard's fight, should there be any, because the lands of Kandy are very treacherous and their troops are very troublesome and know how to turn to their advantage any opportunity that their good luck or our own carelessness might present to them. For this reason, it is best that you should move with such wariness as if each hour you were expecting to run into the enemy.

I sought to keep the fort at Balana [15] always well-provided, and on every occasion you will order it to be further strengthened, for with it in our hands, we have always got our foot on Kandy's neck, and it is very important to keep it.

On your arrival, you are bound to be importuned with petitions for villages; the married settlers of Colombo, while you are new to the island, will put in claims to have various portions added to what they possess. I think I ought to warn you to be cautious on this question and first find out the facts, and these two captains, Simão Correa and Luis Pinto, will tell you what they are. The *mohottiyar* Dom Jeronimo, my godson [16] who served me is also a person you ought to count on; summon him at once to your service, for without him you will be unable to give despatch to the government of that island.

As soon as you establish yourself at Malvana, you will order to be called together all the black-smiths, gun founders and makers of lances and all other types of arms and *gorippos* [17] for turning out lance-shafts and you will order them to manufacture as many of them as possible. You will have the carpenters also under your orders, and all other artificers, giving their *vidanaships* to officers of your household so that you will have them promptly on call to obey your orders. You will pay much attention to this point, because it is important if you are to be well-served. [18] You will take control over the villages which are obliged to deliver iron, [19] making them fulfil these obligations, even though they may already have been given to private individuals, because the king's service takes precedence over everything else.

One of the principal means known to be necessary to conquer Kandy, to weaken its forces and to oblige it to submit is to prevent its commerce with the other coast, [20] from where it is provided with ammunition, cloth and reinforcements of troops and which provides an outlet for its arecanut, elephants and other merchandise, all of which are transmitted through the ports of Batticaloa, Fresh-water Lagoon [21] and Trincomalee and through the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam. To reconnoitre these ports and to decide on the manner in which this commerce could be entirely stopped and closed, I went to them in person [22] and found that we ought to construct two forts on that opposite coast, one on the banks of the Batticaloa lagoon, and the other in

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14. Simão Correa was the brother of Domingos Correa, or Edirille Rala, as he is better known in Ceylon's history. He joined his brother in a rebellion against the Portuguese, but later made his peace with them and became a confidant of the captain-general, Azevedo, who made him the *dissava* of the Seven *korales*. The *Rajavaliya* says he attacked Kandy seven times, and Knox records some stories about his atrocities. He fell at Randeniwela in 1630. There are families in Chilaw even now who claim descent from him.

Luis Gomes Pinto was a Portuguese soldier who became successively captain, captain-major and *dissava* of the Four and Seven *korales*. He too died at Randeniwela.

15. Balana (the word means the place where a look-out was kept) is less than ten miles from the town of Kandy and was an almost impregnable natural fortress on the way to Kandy from the western seaboard of the island. Azevedo took it in 1611, but it was re-taken by the Kandyans five years later.

16. This was Dom Jeronimo Alagiyawanna, the well-known Sinhalese poet. Alagiyawanna's name appears twice in the *tombo* among the Sinhalese officials who helped in its compilation; it was therefore natural that Azevedo should have recommended him on questions relating to land.

17. See note 90 page 74.

18. For a contrary point view on this, see paragraphs 20 and 35 in appendix III.

19. See paragraph 18 and note 40, page 67.

20. That is with India.

21. Not identified.

22. It must have been on this reconnoitring trips that Azevedo destroyed the Koneswaram temple at Trincomalee and killed the priests whom he found there. Queyroz p. 65.

Trincomalee, in an excellent and protected bay, capacious enough to hold great ships and all manner of craft, which lies between the temple at Trincomalee ([23]) and Tambalagama. ([24]) But the money is lacking in Ceylon for the construction of these forts ([25]) and for this reason, I decided to send from here a fleet to this end, but the war in the north ([26]) and the shortage of troops I experienced gave me no opportunity. But as soon as the wars we now have on our hands quieten down, I shall at once put this design into effect, and it is possible that I myself shall go over there, to seize the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam from the power of that Brahmin king ([27]) and reduce it to a captaincy, ([28]) with which alone those inhabitants will acknowledge His Majesty as their sovereign and all revenues accrue to his treasury. With this solved, the rest will look after itself.

I know very well that the state of the conquest of Ceylon and the forces at your disposal do not allow you to make an expedition to that part of the island, nor is it my intention in mentioning this to oblige you straight away to undertake it. I only want to draw your attention to all this so that when an opportunity presents itself, you will have been amply warned : nevertheless if you receive any information that vessels have arrived at those ports or are preparing to sail out from them, you can dispatch a chief of the native troops with some companies of Portuguese soldiers sufficient to take these vessels or to burn them, as I sometimes did so that that trade will gradually die out, or at least fewer ships will come in there and with greater fear. You will have particular care about this matter, this being a very important strategy against Kandy and one with which you can do the maximum damage to it.

It would be very good if you could attack Kandy this winter, at the end of July, with the entire army, because Dom Francisco did not do so this summer, nor even the previous winter, and therefore morale among the Kandyan troops is better than in which I left them. For this reason, it would be good if the attacks on it could be multiplied, to make them again fear(?) your troops and office. I will not limit you to or point out a particular route (?) by which you must make a particular incursion, because this is a point you will have to decide with the captains of that island and principally with those leaders of the native troops I have mentioned. And you will carry it out according to what you think best, depending on the troops—both white and black—you find available there.

On leaving the island, I left orders for two stockades to be made, because although I had decided to contruct them, I had not been able to. One of them is to be sited at Urugorem, ([29]) which is at the furthest end of the Seven *korales*, and the other in Uva, on the Denawaka side in one of those passes in the mountain range at a place whose name I now forget, for the many cares of office have made me forget them, but all these will be pointed out by Simão Correa and others, all of them men deserving of many favours for the great services they have rendered to His Majesty in that island. Apropos of this, I ought to warn you that a thousand and one complaints will be made against them to you, saying that they plunder the land and are enriching themselves. The demanding nature of service in that island can only be endured if one can derive much profit from it, and none ought to be appointed to these posts who does not seek it. Since it must be better to make use of those who are available and have mastered their jobs rather than to have to teach newcomers, and since what matters most to the captain-general of that island is to have good captains and to wage war with honour and credit rather than to put these at risk by listening to interested parties (?) and I give you this advice as a friend, which is what I followed when I was in that island, where none would wish to put up with the job *unless* ([30]) it offered him much profit or at least..... sincere ([30]) ..... relatives and gentlemen in waiting I always availed myself of this means, in order to have captains in that conquest, where God grant you those successes which this state stands in need of. I shall always extend to you whatever co-operation I may be able to and shall indicate to His Majesty how greatly obliged he is to you for coming forward at this time to undertake so arduous an enterprise, for which he may be pleased to make you the reward due for so great a service, apart from the many others of no less import you have already rendered. Written in Goa, 23 April 1614, and I, the secretary, A. Francisco Roiz de Guevers caused this to be written. The viceroy.

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23. The Hindu temple, situated on the isthmus of a promontory overlooking the bay at Trincomalee.

24. At present the Tambalugam *pattu* in the Eastern province.

25. When Constantino de Sa built the fort at Trincomalee in 1623, both the material and labour were brought down from Jaffna. C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617–38*, p. 68.

26. The Portuguese were then engaged in defensive operations in Bassein, Daman, Diu and Manora and against the Mughals. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (London 1894) vol. II pp. 160, 164–167.

27. The king of Jaffnapatnam in 1614 was Pararasa Sekaran. By brahmin, the Portuguese meant only that he was a Hindu.

28. A captaincy was a province, an administrative area in the charge of a captain.

29. This represents some Sinhalese name like Udugoda. But in the absence of any details, it is not possible to identify the place-name.

30. Words illegible., the translation is only tentative.

Appendix III A

REGIMENTO que levou Diogo Mendes de Brito quando foi por veedor da fazenda da ilha de Ceilão. (1)

1. Pero da Silva ett. faço saber a vos Diogo Mendes de Brito fidalgo da casa de S[ua] M[agesta]de que pollas muitas e boas partes que em vos concorrem, satisfação q[ue] tendes dado nas cousas em q[ue] vos occuparão do serviço de mesmo S[enh]or e que o mesmo fareis no officio de veedor da fazenda da ilha de Ceilão, de que agora vos encarrego, tendo consideração a experiencia que adquiristes na mesma ilha em actos de guerra, donde se pode presumir aconhecimento que tomareis pera boa administração e melhoramento da fazenda de S[ua] M[agesta]de e que em tudo sabereis servir muito a satisfação (2) pello curso e experiencia declarada, vos ordeno q[ue] tanto que chegardes á mesma Ilha vos apresentareis logo ao capitão geral de quem recebereis o cumprase na patente q[ue] vos mandey passar, e para que de melhor conformidade se possa servir a S[ua] M[a]g[esta]de lhe fareis comunicação deste regimento, pera volo ajudar acumprir e guardar pois por ambas as vias se caminha ao fim necessario do serviço de sua mag[esta]de tanto na guerra como no melhoramento e conservação de sua real fazenda.

2. Pellas listas q[ue] vos hade entregar o vedor da fazenda geral, ficareis entendendo o socoro q[ue] ora vai de gente, d[inhei]ro, arros e munições, o q[ue] tudo fareis carregar em receita recolhendo o arroz em gudões, amunição nos almazens e o dinheiro no caixão de deposito que está em São Francisco de que sempre será hua chave em vosso poder, outra na mão do guardião e a outra na do feitor, metendo mais hum caderno numerado e rubricado pelo escrivão da F[a]z[end]a adonde no principio se ha de declarar a quantidade q[ue] entra, em que se assinarão escrivão e feitor, e do meyo de caderno pordiante se irá mostrando por lembrança a saca que se for fazendo pera as despesas apontando se o dia mes e anno de entrada e saida.

3. Com as novas que agora tivemos do capitão geral D. Ant[oni]o Mascarenhas nos dá a entender virem a obediencia a mor parte das terras e e[m[pr[imeir]o lugar toda a Mabada dos Chaleas ate corla de Galle e há de querer Deus q[ue] tudo vá em obediencia e assy chamareis logo os Durias da Mabada presente o vidana da canella e lhe perguntareis se se fizerão algu[m]a canela depois de sua obediencia e que a venhão recolhendo por mar ou por terra assy a Gale como á Columbo, e lhe ireis repartindo d[inhei]ro pera fazimento de toda quanta puderem fazer pelos estillos ordinarios e liações ou livros dos durias aos quaes evitareis tudo quanto puderdes que os não constranjão a novos custumes daquillo a que são obrigados porque assim importa para se conservarem no serviço q[ue] a S[ua] M[agestade] fazem, e quando haja o contrario em seu vidana o castigareis conforme a culpa que tiver até o privardes do mesmo officio e como o beneficio da canella he de mayor importancia volo dou por mais encommendado neste Reg[i]m[ent]o advertindo que nas terras de Mature ha hoje muitos chaleas e se podem fazer a dinheiro fora abada de 200 para 300 bares e melhoria de 100 na corla de Gale e do rio de Guindorê ate aldea Berberim que he ordinaria vivenda dos chaleas de Mabada são obrigados por tributo a seiscentos bares de 4 fardos o bar, e toda a mais de que recebem dinheiro pagão o bar por de cinco fardos a preço de dous pardãos.

4. A parte a que se chama Ulanbadda que são os chaleas desramados pelo mor corpo da ilha e fizerão vivenda do rio de Calane e Canampella pera a parte de Alicur se lansa dinheiro para fazimento da canella em contia de 300 bares, aindaque com estas alterações pode faltar gente destes chaleas e comtudo procurareis se faça a mais que poder ser.

5. Sendo em obediencia as tres aldeas del Rey a que chamão Duravaca, Valapane Mandamaravita se costumão fazer por d[inhei]ro 80 ou 90 bares de canella a cujo vidana se costuma encarregar este beneficio passando obrigação do dinheiro que receber do feitor.

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1. Goa, codex 1420 ff. 129 v—144 v.

Another copy of this *regimento* is found on ff. 352–365 in vol. 45 of the *Livros das Monções* at the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. The Goa copy has been collated with this document, from a microfilm supplied by Dr. C. R. de Silva. I have used the Lisbon copy sometimes to correct, at other times to verify doubtful readings and occasionally to fill in the gaps where the Goa copy is illegible.

2. The Goa copy is illegible from this word onwards to the end of paragraph 1. The reading given here is that of the Torre do Tombo document.

6. Nas aldeas de Madampe que forão de Lançarote de Seixas, se fazem por ano os chaleas que ali vivem 100 ate 110 bares de canela, parte a dinheiro e parte por natureza de Bada, em rezão das ortas que comem libertas, a cujo vidana se encarrega este beneficio assy como a arrecadação dos mais costumes e rendimentos de dinheiro e arroz.

7. Na aldea Bocalagama se fazem por ano 12 bares de canela e o custo se entrega ao vidana que tem a cargo e beneficio desta aldea, cujo renda se tem aplicado para ajuda do hospital de Columbo e assy com estas advertencias hireis proseguindo no fazimento da mesma canela, regulando vos com o tempo e numero de gente q[ue] ouver, para se poder fazer e a q[ue] achardes feita a mandareis para esta cidade repartido por dous navios.

8. Os alvitres que S[ua] M[agestade] tem concedido ao Duque de Bragança e ao conde de Vidigueira são mui bem sabidos e não passa cada hum delles por ano de 60 bares, salvo que aprezentão provisões de anos atraz em que não poderão fazer nem tirar esta canella, e se lhe concedeo podere[m] na tirar por junto e como a soma he grande e pode prejudicar o fazimento desta del rey vos havereis com resguardo na vista daquela que sair, advertindo que convem vir toda aos bangaçais [1] e pezo, adonde se recolhe a de S[ua] M[agestade] pera que a sombra da que digo não haja outros descaminhos e convem que haja registo particular adonde se assente toda a que se for embarcando pelos procuradores do Duque e o Conde de Vidigueira e se pode tornar atras com perguntardes aos tais procuradores a contia q[ue] tem tirado do anno de 633 por diante em que se começou a mandar algua canella por conta dos referidos e a que de novo se for fazendo per aldeas particulares (sem que entrem chalias) será com vossos escritos e licença sob pena de perdimento da que for achado fora dos bangaçaes.

9. No tocante a areca da ilha de Ceilão fora da que se faz nas terras de Curagão e Bulatgama que vos hade constar pelo foral, se fazem mais nas terras de Mabada dos Chaleas, duzentos amanois por preço de 4 larins cada amanão, e nas terras de Sofragão se fazem contia de 200 amanões, e se podem fazer mais quando os dissavas a não divertão por seu particular e para mais segurança e menos escandalo de quem sentir o contrario mandareis tirar hua folha das corlas da mesma dissava de toda areca que os naturaes são obrigados a contribuir a fazenda de S[ua] M[agestade].

10. E na dissava e terras de Mature comessando de Salpeti corla, Reigam corla, Passadum corla e Valaviti corla, a folha de tombo vos hade mostrar quanta areca se faz nelas entrando alguns amanoes que chamão de cuta [2] que he hum costume dos darem mil arecas por hum fanão de prata.

11. Na corla de Gale se faz areca qual se vê do foral que se mandou reformar naquela feitoria pelo V[ed]or da F[a]z[end]a que foy Amaro Roiz, advertindo que os capitães antigos chamavão a sy o fazimento desta areca e se lhe mandou tirar depois de se aforarem as aldeas aos Portuguezes e so ficou em ser aquella que pertence a S[ua] M[agestade].

12. O mesmo vedor da fazenda referido mandou fazer averiguição por folha que se tirou do tombo de toda a areca que pertence a faz[end]a real na corla de Beligão e em Dolosdas corla e nas mais terras daquella dissava aqual folha anda com os recebedores, e por ella os aveis de mandar receber por ser conforme ao tombo que fez Antão Vas Freire.

13. O territorio das quarto corlas contem em sy oito como tereis sabido, quatro nas terras de cima e outras quatro nas terras de baixo, das quaes mandareis tirar folha do mesmo tombo e conforme ao que se achar, eis de ordenar ao recebedor que lance d[inhei]ro como nas mais recebedorias para o fazimento da areca advirtindo que há algu[m]a que se faz por natureza da Bada sem intervenção de dinheiro, de que se quizerão aproveitar algu[m]as pessoas particulares sem lhe pertencer.

14. Tambem nas aldeas de Duravaca Valapane, Mandamaravita se faz cantidade de areca, como achareis nos liações daqueles durias, sendo a maior parte em Mandamaravita por natureza de Bada e a que não por dinheiro que se costuma entregar ao seu vidana de que he obrigado a dar conta com tudo o mais ao feitor de S[ua] M[agestade].

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1. Bangaçais is probably from Sanskrit *bhanda—sala*—goods stall. The word meant a warehouse, or a port authority or harbour masters' office. See Hobson-Jobson s. v. Bankshall. The name survives as a street name in Colombo.

2. This word occurs in the Portuguese *tombo* as *de quitafanão*, *cãtifanão* or *quetafanão*. *Panam* is a tax (also a coin)and *kätta* is the word for 'bill hook', while *dätetta* is the sickle. There it is entered against the chandos or toddy-tappers, and was paid in money, not in kind as here.

15. Na corla de Alicur se faz areca por dinheiro de que mandareis tirar folha do mesmo tombo e das mais corlas do territorio das sete a qual entregue ao recebedor, por ella mandareis obrar conforme o q[ue] pelo mesmo tombo se contem.

16. No tempo da paz costumão descer algu[m]as boyadas as aldeas de Madampe a resgatar sal e peixe, e pela vizinhança que esta aldea tem com Chilão, querem os capitães daquele porto chamar a sy estas boiadas e como as aldeas são oje de S[ua] M[agestade] convem que o vidana que ali estiver faça este beneficio a f[a]z[end]a real assi como o senhorio fazia, sendo em seu poder.

17. As aldeas que se chamão dos boeyros lhe são libertas pelo serviço que são obrigados a dar ao arrayal de Manicravare em carretos de arroz, e no tempo da arreca no carreto (1) e beneficio della, cujo vidana tem obrigação de iançar d[inhei]ro aos mesmos boeyros, pera hu[m]a pouca de areca, qual pende de obrigação e custume tudo declarado pelo mesmo tombo que hê o fim para que S[ua] M[agestade] manda fazer livros e se saber por elles o que lhe pertence, a assy pelo que constar vos haveis de governar, tendo por certo que muitas couzas se encubrirão a Antonio Vaz Freire por respeitos particulares que depois se deixarão ver assy q[ue] por elles e pelo regimento que S[ua] M[agestade] mandou passar a este V[ed]or da F[a]z[end]a vos haveis de governar e por todas as mais instrucções, alvaras e cartas de que tem provido para bem governo da ilha de Ceilão cujo negocio vos dou por muy encommendado em nome de Sua Majestade (2), advertindo que nem os capitaes gerais nem a mesa e junta podem derrogar nem alterar cousa algu[m]a que por Sua Mag[esta]d[e] seja mandado sob pena de se haver por sua f[a]z[end]a em dobro, toda a cantidade que padecer lesão ao dito s[enh]or.

18. As aldeas do ferro que S[ua] M[agestade] mandou separar pera sy são as seguintes: Bombala situada em Passadum corla, Cosgore, Nogodanda em Curuviti corla, Ariagama e Indiegalla nas Sete corlas, Atagalãopane em Atulugão corla, querem em Dolosdas corla, aldea Opanaique e[m] Sofragão fora o tributo que os Chalias costumão pagar de 400 paes por ano de que se tem empossado segundo informação os vidanas dos ferreiros. De todas estas aldeas se ha de tirar folha conforme o mesmo tombo tanto pera arrecadação de ferro como da areca, decũ e de mais custumes a que são obrigados seus moradores e durias.

19. De todo este ferro procurareis depois de serem receita de o converter em arcabuzaria de seis oitavas de pelouro, pondose nos arcabuzes hua esphera em sinal de ser arma del Rey para que em tudo o lugar adonde for achado o tal arcabus se conheça cujo he, e do mesmo modo mosquetes de pee para o serviço do arrayal com as mesmas armas e os não podera fazer nem usar delles pessoa alguma que não seja em nome de Sua Majestade, sob pena de se tomarem por perdidos adonde quer que forem achados, e a mesma marca se porá em todas as lanças que se forem fazendo para fornimento do arrayal e fareis que em hu[m]a das ferrarias se não obre outra cousa mais que balas de artelharia do colibre que haja de servir nas fortalezas de Columbo e Gale e do mais lugares adonde cumprir e para este effeito se tem (conforme boa informação) que a melhor citio he dentro na Mabada dos Chaleas em rezão do serviço dos Putabenas para effeito de carvão adonde ja se tem feito muitos pelouros pera a mesma artilharia.

20. As doze aldeas que S[ua] M[ajestade] mandou separar para ajuda das despezas da conquista vos serão notorias por andarem carregadas em receita por entrega da casa ao feitor q[ue] oje he Thome de Gouvea, donde hão de passar a todos os mais feitores que successivamente forem continuando na conquista e feitoria de Columbo, e no mesmo livro achareis carregadas todas as vidanias e aldeas conssernentes que tem titulo de S[ua] M[ajestade] sobre as quaes nenhu[m]a outra pessoa terá jurisdição mais que vos, ou os vedores da f[a]z[end]a q[ue] vos sucedere[m] ou seja para effeito de arrendamentos, ou para sere[m] providas de vidanas, em falta de rendeiros para que sempre se uze de todo o beneficio, e melhoramento da f[a]z[end]a real, e os tais vidanas ou rendeiros terão juizo ante vos nos casos q[ue] o pedire[m] e lhes dareis appellação e agravo pera o Juiz dos feitos e f[a]z[end]a nesta corte, e para que melhor possais exercitar nos tais arendamentos e provimentos de recebedores das corlas e portos do mar e de mais officios conssernentes a f[a]z[end]a direis ao capitão geral que mande pregoar em todas as quatro dissavas e fortalezas dessa ilha, a forma em q[ue] se hão de guardar e obedecer vossas olas e mandados e fio de capitão geral pello zello que tem do serviço de Sua Mag[esta]d[e] que assy o farâ [mandados e fio] cumprir por ser ordem do dito S[enh]or, e os cargos

1. The Sinhalese word for cart (කරත්ත) is probably from the Portuguese.

2. Portuguese documents of the period are not very consistent in their spelling. Magestade, (g instead of j), Ceilão (y in place of i) areca (two rs) hoje (omitting the h) chalias (i in place of e) are some of the words often found with variant spelling. These eccentricities have been retained in copying out this document.

que vagarem de provimento real ou dos visoreys, os poreis em leilão pola mea anata o tempo de qualquer serventia ate que de novo se provejão nesta corte de que ireis dando conta.

21. O Feitor Thome de Gouvea está em cabo de seu trieno e não tem sahido nenhum provido com o cargo da feitoria de Columbo e tenho noticia haver despachados por dote de casamento e que não poderão vir a esta corte requerer suas intrancias por causa de guerra lhe ser impedido, e assy havendo quem vos apresente carta patente ou alvara de S[ua] M[agestade], lhe mandareis fazer livro de receita, despeza, alfandega e forais, todos vistos e rubricados pelo escrivão da f[a]z[end]a e fareis que no rosto se treslade o regimento dos contos e matricula, qual anda nos dos mais feitores, e com certidão no cabo, e outra no principio do numero das folhas que cada livro tem, e desde que chegardes hireis dando balanço ao feitor que acaba, e passando por entrega da casa, artilharia, almazens, munições, tudo na conformidade que o vereis na conta de Thome de Gouvea e ultimamente arros e dinheiro, naquela cantidade que ouver, assi como quaesquer drogas, e materias, para que tenha tempo de se ir descarregando e lhe tomareis fiança ao mesmo Thome de gouvea a servir apresentar neste tribunal dos contos e não natendo bastante o fareis vir a bom recado.

22. Depois do tombo de Antão Vaz Freire forão aparecendo algu[m]as aldeas em diversos tempos que havião ficado de fora, e por se acharem em papeis particulares feitos por Miguel Pinheiro Ravasco, outras por Lançarote de Sexas e outras por Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara e maior numero no tempo do veedor da f[a]z[end]a Amauro Rois me diz que mandou fazer livro particular em que se forão copeando todas quantas aldeas se forão descubrindo, e do mesmo modo ireis proseguindo o alcance das mais, advertindo que, adquire direito em sua vida todo aquele que de novo á meter por foro nos livros del Rey quer seja Portugues quer Chingala e avendo pessoa que atraga sonegada sem o tal foro, pelo mesmo caso lha aveis logo de tirar dando conta na Mesa e Junta deste cap[itul]o e da tal aldea que se vos descubrir, e se todavia andar em algum lascarim de guerra se lhe terá respeito, com tanto que se lhe faça assentamento de foro, e que o deixem uzar livremente de seus fruitos e sementeira, porque de assy lho não consentirem e lhe tomarem com violencia o que produz a sua comedia de cada hum, nos vem á ter menos amor pola incerteza de seu sustento sobre cujo ponto vos ordeno e ao capitão geeral e mando em nome de S[ua] M[agestade] que nenhum capitão nem dissava violente a tal gente de guerra em lhe tomar o seu.

23. E postoque os tais homens naturais são da jurisdição do cap[itã]o geral emquanto lascarins ou dissavas, comtudo como foreiros a f[a]z[end]a de S[ua] M[agestade] tendes obrigação de tornar por elles e de significar ao cap[ita]m geral a vexação que lhe fazem quando della vos fizerem queixa na visita das terras pera que por qualquer via tenha recurso da força que lhe fazem.

24. De todos os Chaleas, Pãneas, Cassadores del Rey e de mais gente conssernente á estas aldeas e vidanias sois vos o Juiz excepto nos casos de morte, ou de leza mag-[esta]de divina ou humana, e postoque podereis conhecer de suas culpas, autuadas ellas, as deveis remeter ao ouv[id]or pera as sentencear co[m] o capitão geral, porque assi está determinado por assento dos ministros da Relação, de que se passou alvará qual o achareis registado nos livros da f[a]z[end]a e quando se offereção novos casos, e que pareça senão podem determinar na mesa e junta, ou diante do geral e ouvidor, dareis conta a esta corte para vos mandar defirir como for justiça.

25. A propriedade e senhorio que S[ua] M[agestade] tem nos elefantes e alias de toda a Ilha de Ceilão se vê mui claramente pelo alvará que mandou passar ao V[ed]or da F[a]z[end]a Antão Vaz Freire, cuja cassa tem ceparado de toda a pessoa de qualquer callidade que seja, começando pella do capitão geral e de mais capitães e ministros de todo o territorio de Ceilão, e como tal aveis de uzar de todo o beneficio que puder resultar a f[a]z[end]a de S[ua] M[ajestade] por meyo das cassadas dos tais elefantes e alias.

26. E começando das terras de Mature sabeys que conforme ao tombo e foral são obrigados aquelles cassadores á dar 30 cabeças por anno antre alias e elefantes de dente e porquanto os dissavas do mesmo Mature custumão tirar algu[m]as comedias e aldeas a estes cassadores, uzando dellas contra o mesmo foral, e dando as a seus servidores se vem a desgostar os pensionarios e a se mostar com menos fervor naquillo que he sua obrigação pello que vos ordeno que na mesma conformidade que ficou determinado por tombo, vos hajais co[m] estes homens e co[m] suas comedias para que não haja falta no muito que importa esta pensão.

27. A vidania do curo convem ande nu[m]a pessoa que se exercite no campo com os cassadores, e que tenha muita intelligencia em saber donde andão elefantes de dente para se cassarem com laços e allias manças, e como o custumavão fazer no tempo dos Reis gentios e de anno em anno se fação curraes nas sete ou quatro corlas, adonde com mais comodo se possão recolher os tais elefantes, advertindo que os de Mature e os da vidana do Curo que logo que forem cassados e recolhidos nos lugares adonde lhe dão sustento se hão de carregar em receita com a matricula da cada hum de sua grandesa e sinais, e na mesma forma as alias pera que a todo o tempo conste da cantidade das tais cassadas dando-se tambem certidão de descarga aos feitores sobre quem forão carregados daquelles elefantes ou alias que morrerem.

28. Em Mangul corla ha cassadores del Rey obrigados a cassarem este genero de animais de que os dissavas daquele territorio se empossavão contra as leis e regimentos de S[ua] M[agestade] e assy convem terdes intelligencia por via do recebedor das sete corlas, para que tenha cuidado por esta parte de sua jurdição de que se fação as tais cassadas que comumente são com laços.

29. Os Vanias de Putalão erão obrigados a dar dez elefantes por ano como consta do mesmo tombo e foral pera cujo penção tinhão em liberdade aquellas terras que comião livremente e como se introduzio capitão naquella paragem, ficou divertindo estas cassadas, tomando muitas vezes em sy o senhoria dellas, e passando as por aquela parte a Manar como fazenda desemcaminhada, pelo que vos ordeno que ao recebedor de Chilão e Putalão encarregueis estas cassadas que ja oje se não fazem senao por dinheiro e dardivas prometidas aos tais cassadores e ordenareis que se lhe venha dar seu posto na aldea Madampe com o serviço de hu[m]a aldea de Paneas que está em Calpetim de que se quizerão empossar os Religiosos da Companhia não lhe pertencendo e por meyo deste serviço se pode ir elementando esta cassada com grande aproveitamento da f[a]z[end]a del Rey a qual vos dou por mais encommendado.

30. As aldeas das Agras que os Reis gentios tinhão aplicado a gente dellas pera effeito de cavarem pedraria a esperiencia proxima tem mostrado o pouco aproveitamento que se segue da tal pedraria e assy sendo as terras em obediencia, fareis com que toda esta gente se aplique a lavoura das mesmas terras, porque são acomodadas pera darem muito mantimento não só para o presidio de Sofragão mas ainda para com elle se acudir em Boyadas e pello rio abaxo aos lugares necessarios, e adonde ouver necessidade de tal mantimento, e que outrosy se occupem em fazimento da areca sem que pessoa algu[m]a de nenhu[m]a qualidade os diverta em occupações nem lhe possão comprar a mesma areca, e toda se ha de ajuntar por vossa ordem , encarregando este beneficio aos Vidanas, e recebedores daquellas terras, porque sou informado que muito maior approveitamento hade ter a f[a]ze[nd]a del Rey por esta via, do que em se buscarem pedras de tam pouca estimacão e valia como se tem visto,e sahindo de Columbo a fazer paga ao arrayal depois das terras quietas podereis ir pessoalmente ao mesmo sofragão pera dardes o modo de proceder, que hão de ter os mayoraes daquellas aldeas em suas lavouras e recolhimento de areca, pondo lhe a contribuição por ano que parecer justa e deixareis prohibição com pena de perdimento de bens que nenhu[m]a pessoa mande, nem possa occupar esta, nem outra algu[m]a gente em cavar pedras, nem em tirar cristal porque por esses caminhos se perde o serviço que havia de ser de mais importancia na agricultura das terras.

31. E para que a ilha seja melhor servida, e o mantimento del Rey trafegado do lugar de seu recolhimento pera as patayas do mesmo senhor, fareis que se conserve a vidania dos boeiros agregando lhe todas quantas aldeas tiverem este titulo de boeiros, porquanto os capitães gerais por respeitos particulares forão dando as tais aldeas e divertindo este serviço tão necessario, e que dele não possa usar nenhu[m]a dissava, nem capitão mor do campo, nem capitão geral, mais que pera os effeitos declarados em puxarem mantimento e areca qual pertence a f[a]ze[nd]a de S[ua] M[agestade].

32. A vidana dos Paneas convem que sempre seja distinta da do Curo sem se alegar exemplo de terem andado juntas nos Banacas, porque se fazia a hum fim mui particular dos cap[itae]s gerais, em resão do senhorio que chamarão assy dos elefantes e alias que oje não he pela ordem e alvara de S[ua] M[agestade], que fica referido em que tem posto de propriedade e senhorio destes animais assy como o tinhão os Reys gentios da mesma Ilha, per modo que adonde querquer ouver paneas e aldeas deste titulo, hão de ser sempre da mesma vidania, mas não que o vidana adquira serviço particular seu, nem intereces que possão diminuir o aproveitamento da f[a]z[end]a de Rey, advertindo vos que não ha nenhu[m]a aldea destas que os paneas lhe não fique obrigacão de darem areca para S[ua] M[agestade] como o haveis de achar no tombo e foral, de que haveis demandar fazer quaderno particular e regimento da contribução dos tais paneas advertindo mais que das quarto Gatras que he o assentamento dos paneas lhe

fica por cabeça Bandupetim a qual se havia aforado com prejuizo da f[a]z[end]a del Rey, e oje se tornou agregar as mesmas gatras adonde se faz boa cantidade de areca por dinheiro e se pagão de Bada 30 e tantos amanões pelos mesmos paneas, sem que por isso se lhe dé dinheiro, como o aveis de ver do mesmo tombo e foral.

33. A vidania do Curo relatada neste regimento hé sua cabecça a aldea Urgamella, e tem outras doze ou catorze como vereis na entrega da casa do feitor Thomé de Gouvea e no Livro dos proprios que se hia aperfeiçoando pelo V[ed]or da f[a]z[end]a Amauro Roiz, e porquanto nestas aldeas sendo del Rey se lhe não fez nunca tombo pello a obrigo que os Banacas que as comião tinhão nos capitães gerais, e de presente sou informado que se recolhe nellas cantidade de areca, e muito mantimento, vos ordeno em nome de S[ua] M[agestade] que sendo visitada por vos esta vidania, façaes averguação de seu rendimento, deixando porem livres as comedias dos cassadores, na conformidade que sempre estiverão.

34. Todas as penas e condenações que se fazem na ilha de Ceilão ou seja no desembargo da Malvana e casa dos capitães geraes, ou nas dissavas, ou por outros quaesquer vidanas, ou recebedores, he dinheiro que pertence a el Rey, e como tal o haveis de fazer carregar em receita e do mesmo modo todas as condenações que fizerem os ouvidores de Ceilão ou seja em Manar, Jafanapatão ou em outro qualquer lugar da mesma ilha se tem aplicado por muitas provisões dos visoreys quaes achareis registadas nos livros da f[a]z[end]a a metade dellas para as despezas desse hospital de Columbo cujo dinheiro mandareis carregar ao feitor para o effeito declarado.

35. A vidania dos ferreiros se começou a introdusir nos bandiga Ralas cujos decuns e custumes e ainda penas que muitas vezes levão, chegão tam limitadamente aos livros da receita dos feitores, que tenho por informação, ser muito menos do que na verdade se arecada e he muito maior danno que as aldeas recebe[m] adonde os tais ferreiros são moradores em rezão dos canganes que os bandigaralas mandão q[ue] ficava melhor não se usar dos tais decuns pola poiquidade delles, mas como he dereito real convem que com os mestres das ferrarias façais coadernos destintos dos ferreiros que ha nas terras de sofragão e dos que ha nas de Mature e nas quatro e sete corlas, e com seus nomes se farâ repartição dos tempos em que hão de acudir as ferrarias dando lhe lugar para tambem tratarem de sua lavoura e beneficio de suas comedias e tudo que he de ser decum de dinheiro fareis que se converta em ferros de lansas porquanto a necessidade de armas he mayor que a da pouquidade do d[inhei]ro qual o achareis carregado e em seu lugar se farâ o mesmo no tocante aos ferros das lansas, assy de decuns como de obedecimentos, ficando sempre em pê a quantidade dos que custumão pagar em sofragão.

36. A vidana dos cortadores hê a que pende de mayor serviço ao arrayal e em pr[imeir]o lugar quando se custuma levar assy para effeito dos cam[inh]os como do carreto das munições, porem todas estas aldeas de cortadores tem areca e postoque o serviço he o mesmo que digo em rezão das comedias que tem forras os proprios cortadores, a areca que se fazer nas mesmas aldeas hê del Rey, e assy o aveis de declarar e desfazer a intruza posse a que se tem chamado estes vidanas, sem lhe pertencer, valendosse do favor que os geraes lhe dão, e assi avaliandosse as cantidades que em cada nu[m]a das aldeas se faz conforme tombo e foral, se hade dar d[inhei]ro, pera o fazimento da mesma areca, e se algu[m]as comerem por aforamento, adverty que o tal foreiro tem obrigação de accompanhar os seus cortadores todas as vezes que o arrayal fizer jornada e outrossy de darem madeiramento de paralas, traves, tabões de reparos e rodas e de mais cousas que fore[m] necess[ari]as pera as obras publicas assy de hospital, como de See Matriz, bangasais de canella, fazimento de estancias e mais propriedades que tenhão nome de S[ua] M[agestade], fora do que não poderão cortar mastros, angelins, nem jaqueira debaxo das penas da ordenação, salvo se por vos lhe for concedido por licença para os effeitos declarados do serviço do mesmo s[enh]or.

37. Por todas estas vidanias aveis de mandar repartir todos os annos a cantidade de d[inhei]ro que vos parecer necess[a]r[i]o p[ar]a fazim[en]to de murrões de erua com q[ue] sempre o arayal, almazens e presidios estejão bastantamente providos e com sobrecelentes para qualquer necessidade.

38. Nas terras de Sofragão e pela parte de Gaale e Mature se faz breu, não pera obrigação dos naturais, senão por dinheiro que se lhe paga, pello trabalho que tem em o andar colhendo pellos troncos e pês das arvores, em cujo beneficio fareis repartir dinheiro co[m] moderação, pera que assy tenhão melhor vontade de o recolher em reszão da paga que se lhe faz o que havereis por encomendado aos vidanas e recebedores destas terras, para que os almaze[n]s de S[ua] M[agestade] estejão sempre providos, e o mesmo hade ser por todos os goripos, assy para as tias de lansas, como pera outras mais fornidas que tereis cuidado de mandar vir todos os annos para esta cidade de Goa pera

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soquetes e colheres do meneyo de artelharia, e com a que dessas partes fique melhor provida e a mesma providencia tereis em mandar fazer cairo todo o anno em Madampe e nas aldeas dos Chaleas, a presso de dinheiro na mesma conformidade que o custumão vender pera que haja sempre provimento do mesmo cairo para o serviço des embarcações.

39. Nessa ribeira estão os navios que vierão de Malacca o anno passado e se ajuntarão outros darmada de Manar de todos elles heis de armar os que forem de mor prestimo para a pescaria, e os demais a que faltare[m] esquipações os podeis vender a toda o beneficio da f[a]z[end]a real como ja o tinha ordenado a vosso antecessor, e em particular que vendesse hum delles a Anton[i]o de Mendonça de Brito, morador em Nagapatão por me haver dito lhe tomarão outro seu que hia com mantimento da fortaleza de Malacca, e que para o mesmo effeito pretendia comprar estoutro.

40. Os decu[n]s de todas as aldeas da ilha de Ceilão hê hum dereito Real e tributo com que acudião aos Reis daquella ilha todos os lavradores e officiaes das aldeas em rezão das comedias que tinhão, e como os maioraes de cada hu[m]a das aldeas tinhão mayores ortas e comedias era mor o tributo que pagavão e assy huns pagavão a larim, outros a dous, outrcs a pardão e alguns a mais, em cujo negocio recolhião fazenda as pessoas que hião encaminhadas a esta arrecadação e tambem lhe determinavão suas cousas, e os compunhão em suas discordias, e ainda nos mais bens do casal per natureza de partilhas, em que os reis tambem tenhão parte a que chamão marallas, e assy mudando se o governo em dissavas a titolo de capitaẽs de guerra, chamarão a sy muita parte da jurisdição e fazenda que lhe não pertencia e quando menos pareceaes com el rey na a metade e muitas vezes em tudo no que erão marallas e do mesmo modo nas ganvações de que vierão a nascer grandes desgostos antre os ministros da f[a]z[end]a, capitaes geraes, unicos defensores nestas cousas dos dissavas. Os ministros pela aclararem a sy como em sy hê, e os dissavas por se conservarem na posse do que não era seu pelo que vos ordeno que aos recebedores das terras deis regimentos muito claros e mui conformes com o tombo e foral, e me pareceo por atalhar mayores inconvenientes e os capitães de guerra se não meterm (como S[ua] M[agestade] manda) na arrecadação da f[a]z[end]a em muita, nem em pouca cantidade, façais hu[m]a junta co[m] o capitão geral o que nella avirgoeis a ordinaria de d[inhei]ro que se ha de dar a cada hum dos dissavas por anno, junto com hu[m]a aldea para o serviço de sua gavara e com condição que em forma algu[m]a hão de constrager aos naturaes a lhe pagarem decum, maralla, ganvação, nem obedecimento nem a carretos de areca, nem de sapão, sal, peixe, betle, tabaco, nem a cortes de madeira nem a fazimento de champanas, nem a tributos de vibada, que he parte de sua sementeira, nem a outras imposições tão tiranicas, como notoriamente injustas, e do que assentardes acerca desta ordinaria e nome de aldea que hade andar junta a cada hu[m]a das ditas dissavas, pera nunca se sair della me dereis conta pera o haver de confirmar e isto se entenderá depois das terras quietas, para quando haveis de goardar o cumprimento deste cap[itul]o porque se não compadece que os officios de guerra em que se hão de merecer honras desp[ach]os de S[ua] M[agestade] se convertão em tão humildes mercancias e reprovados tratos e com tanta opressão dos mesquinhos e vassalos do mesmo senhor.

41. No regimento que S[ua] M[agestade] mandou passar ao V[ed]or da f[a]z[end]a Antão Vaz Freire mandou declarar que nenhum morador da ilha de Ceilão em que[m] coubessem aldeas por afforamento se podessem chamar de boa posse sem que primeiro as confirmaçem, e porquanto desejo que as pessoas que tem servido e merecido os tais afforamentos, hajão confirmação, lhes direis na mesa da camara pera que venha a noticia de todos que as mandem confirmar para assy poderem ser de boa posse, e como tais deixadas a seus filhos e erdeiros , e senão abrir ocasião de que os capitães geraes lhas tirem tantas quantas veses o tem feito, ou por respeitos ou por outros intereces particulares, e lhes direis mais que a carta que se lhe passa pelos ministros da mesa e junta, não hê bastante pera o verdadeiro senhorio, nem para venda, trespassação, nem deixação, porque tudo deffende S[ua] M[agestade] emquanto confirmadas não forem, e que se lhe hão de tirar para as darem a quaesquer moradores que debaxo de preceito [?] de viverem em Ceilão as queirão confirmar em nome de S[ua] M[agestade].

42. Tenho por informação que muitas pessoas ouverão aldeas por trato secreto, avendo olas dos banacas e capitães geraes e que depois lhas vierão a dar em mesa e junta sobornosamente e contra as condições dos Regimentos de S[ua] M[agestade] e que outrossy as venderão sem licença dos visoreys conluyosamente, tornando de novo a pedir outras aldeas a quem lhas costumava dar, passando com escandalo dos mais moradores este negocio a grande occasião de sentimento, pelo que vos ordeno que tireis hua devaça mui exactamente de todos aquelles que forão complices nestes tratos secretos, de compras, vendas e adoações, conluyosamente, porquanto em nada se podia obrar fora do mesmo Regimento e sem licença del Rey e as tais aldeas as poreis em separação, para se tornarem a dar a quem não tiver nenhu[m]a, e ouver servido nessa ilha, e for morador della e que os tais compradores vão haver o dinheiro das pessoas

a quem o derão porquanto usarão mal das propriedades e patrimonio real, e este cap[itul]o o lansareis por rosto da devaça, dando conta ao mesmo cap[ita]m geral para ficar advertindo do beneficio que se ha de fazer por esta via aos desacomodados e que sem premio se achão em Ceilão.

43. Do mesmo modo, tanto que as terras ficare[m] em sua quietação, comunicareis com o capitão geeral o assentamento das aldeas que hão de ter as pessoas que forem capitães no mesmo arayal, para uzarem tão somente do serviço de suas estancias, sem intervenção de outros aproveitamentos as quaes convem que sejão vinte aldeas para outro tanto numero de estancias, todas na mesma corla onde faz assentamento o arayal de Manicarvare, e não será de impedimento o estarem aforadas por mesa e junta porque quando haja merecimentos nas pessoas que hoje as tem se lhe hade dar satisfação noutros partes por convir ao serviço de S[ua] M[agestade] que o arayal tenha o serviço certo e tão proximo quanto hê a mesma corla, e que por nenhum modo os capitães deixando de o ser se sayao com aldea que estiver dedicada a mesma estancia, porquanto importa que sejão conjuntas assy como o tenho declarado das que hão de ser do serviço dos dissavas e se fará quaderno separado do assento que se tomar para que em todo tempo conste como assy se ordenou, e quanto aos rendimentos se avaliará a novidade de tal aldea, a qual se dará aconta das ordinarias dos capitães por natureza de pensão por tal modo que nem El Rey fique lezo, nem os capitães sem serviço. E esta ordem dou desde agora por infalivel, em resão de que os gerais afeicoademente não fação repartições a seus obrigados como tem acontecido com perjuizo de terceiros a quem se tem tirado aldeas. e quando suceda que algu[m]as estancias sejão vagas per falta de gente, correrá a tal aldea que lhe cair em sorte por conta da f[a]z[end]a del Rey, com vidana que lhe poreis para sua grangeação e beneficio sem que haja trocarem se hu[m]as por outras, porque sempre a estancia que tiver numero de premeiro lhe caberá por sorte o nome de huma aldea, e a segunda o nome de outra, e do mesmo modo desde terceira ate a decima e vigecima, e com o mesmo beneficio acudirá o vidana que tiver ao capitam que de novo entrar naquella estancia que desarmada fosse.

44. A ordem que digo que se hade ter co[m] o aRayal, e serviço de suas estancias hade ter em sofragão, quando se entenda serem aly necessarias duas outras estancias, e o mesmo em Mature cujo alojamento se tem por melhor antre home[n]s praticos, convem que seja na Acumena por ficar com mais eminencia a todos acquellas terras, sem embargo que os dissavas tem outro posto por demais recreação e dado que consigo tenha soldados, hão de ser debaxo de sua comp[anhi]a assy como o ha de ter o de sofragão quando importe.

45. Neste quaderno que digo, onde se hade fazer assentamento das aldeas de serviço será tambem assentada a aldea do serviço do palanquim do capitão geeral e as da sua gavara que são na vidania de Canampele por cima da Malvana de que he cabeça deigambara, e postoque estas aldeas se queirão fazer titulares dellas os officios de bandigarrala, se tem applicado pera o serviço da malvana debaxo das condições do foral, assy como tambem o hão de ser as da gabara intituladas dos leiteiros, com quem correm seus veadores de baxo de contribuição do foro, e oje mui danificadas em resão da variedade dos senhores, e de todos tratarem de menos aproveitamento sendo assy que tenho informação que podião ser as melhores per citio e beneficio que há em toda a ilha mas como ja estão aplicadas a este fim, convem que de vossa parte façais toda a recomendação necessaria pera que as não decepem de madeira nem destruão de palmares, e que serão obrigados a plantalas de novo pera que de todo senão perção aquellas terras, e se trate comodamente de sua agricultura.

46. Postas por ordem as cousas referidas mandareis pelo escrivão da f[a]z[end]a diser ao procurador do Collegio dos p[adr]es da comp[anhi]a que mandem á esta corte apresentar os titulos que tem, de todas as suas propriedades, porquanto S[ua] M[agestade] mandou neste anno que acabou de 638 por instrução sua de 13 março do mesmo anno, em que dá por nullos todos os provimentos e datas[1] que lhe fizerão dom Jeronimo dazavedo e dom Nunoalures Pereira e de mais pessoas que tiverão lugares nessa ilha, e que nesta parte he seu Juiz Pero damaral Pimenta, Juiz dos feitos, adonde hão de acudir pera serem ouvidos e entre tanto fareis que esteja em deposito os rendeimentos e que delles tão somentes se lhe vá dando tantas ordinarias quantos forem os religiosos e sacerdotes (e não irmãos coadjutores] que andarem nessa ilha assy como se tem ordenado com os de sam fr[ancis]co.

1. This word can mean dates, or allotments (in Brazil a *data* was a mining allotment). The latter meaning seems to fit is better. See also paragraph 20, appendix IA, where the word is used in the sense of allotment.

47. Nos demais particulares, vos hireis governando pellos regimentos e de mais ordens de S[ua] M[agestade] assy como pellos forais tocantes aos custumes que se pagão por fralda do mar, começando de Calpetim com a xaya, sal e topetins, como em Chilão, Caimel, Nigumbo com suas rendas, e a a[l]f[andeg]a e polayas de seus palmares, como pellos demais paços, Paniture, Berberim, Macune, Alicão, Reigama, Gale, Beligao, Mature com seus junções, pescarias e demais custumes de Tanavarê, marinhas de sal e outras miudesas, quaes achareis nos regimentos daquellas recebedorias que são por registo no cartorio da f[a]z[end]a de Columbo, em cuja lição convem que despendais tempo porque de assy o fizerdes colhereis toda a noticia necessaria pera boa administração da f[a]z[end]a real, advertindo mais que por esta paragem de Maturê se tem feito grandes desencaminhos, assy de armas, e canella, como do dereito real q[ue] era devido por despacho de areca, tudo co[m] temor que os recebedores tiverão dos dissavas e capitães de guerra que asistem por aquella paragem, por cuja resão vos encomendo que tenhais muita conta e resguardo neste negocio adonde mandareis asistir a pessoa de mais confiança quando por vos o não possais fazer.

48. A pescaria do aliofre promete grande melhora conforme a experiencia que se tem feito e para escuzar desordens e correr tudo na conformidade que S[ua] M[agestade] manda por seus regimentos que tambem se vos hão de dar da mesa dos contos, me pareceo ordenar vos que tanto que entrar o mes de fev[erei]ro vos prepareis todos os annos pera ir e[m] pessoa a mesma pescaria, deixando as cousas de Columbo a bom recado entregue a administração ao feitor com regimento do que hade obrar, e se vos parecer encarregar a mesma administração a pessoa de confiança e pratica nas materia da f[a]z[end]a por resão de irdes acudir a Manar, e ao reino da Jafanapatão o podereis fazer, porem, tudo de baxo de vosso regimento pera que nem a tal pessoa, nem o feitor, nem os demais vidanas e recebedores se podere[m] afastar daquillo que por vos lhes for ordenado, e durante o tempo da pescaria, uzareis direitamente daquillo que o Regimento dos contos vos mostrar, evitando desordens, forças e semresões, e não consentindo custumes que queirão introdusir, nem os capitães da armada, nem o capitam de Manar, fazendo outrossy que aquella passagem da Manar seja tam franca que ninguem ouze de por imposição, fora do que está ordenado por leis e regimentos e ultimamente reformados no que deixou naquella feitoria a V[ed]or da f[a]z[end]a Amauro Roiz, o qual fareis guardar aos off[icia]es della, e assy como nelle se contem porque tambem naquella parte se pode melhorar f[a]z[end]a com os elefantes e allias como o haveis de ver do regimento referido feito por aquelle vedor da fazenda.

49. Hê certo que emquanto as cousas de Ceilão não tomare[m] assento, vos não podereis afastar por largo tempo da tal administração, e por me parecer que convem ser visitado o reino de Jafanapatão em resão das queixas que se me tem dado, e dos capitães mores quererem mais daquillo que lhe pertence, convem se dê fim ao tombo e foral, em que se ocupou o veedor da fazenda Amauro Roiz, sobre cujo negocio vos mandey em sett[emb]ro ordens particulares e co[m] as declarações necessarias e por entretanto vos mando que passeis provisão vossa ao contador dalfandega de Jafanapatão, a que chamão Manoel godinho pera que vâ fazendo soma num quaderno de fora do que val o rendimento de cada aldea per sy do tocante as vargeas e puloes[1] ortas arvores e palmeiras, para se unir por soma quantas cabeças são tributarias em cada hu[m]a das aldeas pera de todo se fazer declaração no foral de que se vos hade mandar copia, e que co[m] alguns canecapoles, se vão tambem somando as pat olas, em lingua Malavar de cada aldea de per sy na conformidade que se hia fazendo ao tempo que se levou mao daquella obra, e advertireis ao capitão mor que nao dê por valioso hum so palmo de terra que haja dado per sua ola nem escrito, porque pode embaracar o fim do mesmo tombo em resao de estar posto nu[m]as pessoas, e passar a outras as tais vargeas ou terras, e que o mesmo se entenda por seu antecessor lopo gomes dabreu advertindo que antes de se aprovar o tombo hade tornar a ser visto e examinado das imperfeições que tiver.

50. Avisareis mais ao feitor daquelle Reino, manoel de souza delacerda que tenha em memoria quaesquer ellefantes e allias que entrarão em seu tempo em Jafanapatão, e que ninguem se tenha por senhor dellas, ne[m] cassadas, nem por saguate[2] ate S[ua] M[agestade] não ser inteiramente pago de todas as pensões que lhe são devidas pelos vanias e contrato de Punarim, nem consedereis licença pera que pessoa algu[m]a possa cassar contra estas condições sem que primeiro seja satisfeita a parte real.

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1. Pulan is a Tamil word meaning properties.

2. A word borrowed by the Portuguese from Konkani and/or Persian. It means gift, present.

51. As terras do Vany procurarão sempre os capitães do reino de Jafanapatão fazer dellas hu[m]a tapada, ou coutada, aonde ninguem entrasse mais que o seus consentimentos, fazendo-se parelha com os geerais de Ceilão, no tempo da paz, pera as entradas de Candia e como estes perjuizos tem sido tão notorios se ordenou provisão no governo passado que a recebedoria e Adigaria daquellas terras fosse provimento dos visoreys, ou dos veedores da fazenda e que com seu regimento administrassem insolidum não sô as pensões dos Vanias, mas ainda todos os mais custumes de d[inhei]ro e aretane, a que são obrigados aquelles moradores com regimento particular, que hade sair do foral daquellas terras, e emquanto não estiver feito, fareis o tal provimento em pessoa mais pratica, e de mais merecimento que ouver pera o tal officio, o qual se hade tambem empregar em mandar cassar por d[inhei]ro todas as allias e ellefantes que puder, depois das tais pensões, porquanto tenho alcansado que este hé o mais groço rondimento daquelle reino e de que os capitães mores senão podem ver desapegados.

52. Assy como forem entrando os ellefantes, e allias em Patanao[1] se irão carregando em receita ao mesmo feitor, com as declarações necessarias de sua grandesa e sinais, e nome de Vannia que o entregou por tributo, ou por cassada de d[inhei]ro, como ja ficou introdusido pello veedor da fazenda Amauro Roiz, e o eys de achar pellos livros da receita dos feitores passados, e a saida que se der a estes ellefantes serâ com registo de outro livro que se fez pera o mesmo effeito e donde se ha de pôr verba, assy como por receita o d[inhei]ro, para quem forão vendidos, na mesma conta do feitor, de que vos darão noticia os mesmos officiaes para se escuzarem desemcaminhos.

53. Os capitães da Jafanapatão e manar não serão presentes a venda dos tais elefantes nem allias, nem poderão lansar por sy, nem por ter[cei]ra pessoa nos tais leilões ponto que hade ser perguntado em suas residencias, pellos grandes desencaminhos que me dizem se tem visto por esta via, e sempre que puderdes vos hireis achar presente, ao caez dos ellefantes a venda delles, e partida que fizerem para fora do Reino porquanto os officiaes inferiores senão atrevem com os mesmos capitães mores em resão do temor e ameaços que lhe fazem, de que tem chegado queixas e certidões advertindo mais que dos pressos porque são vendidos os tais ellefantes e allias se pagão sette por cento de direito real por saida como qualquer outra fazenda como o achareis introdusido pello veedor da f[a]z[end]a Amauro Roiz, por entender que assy convinha a f[a]z[end]a de S[ua] M[ajestade] e se escuzarem as conveniencias e partidos que os capitães de.....[2] fazião com os patanes mercadores destes animais.

54. Tambem se me deu por informação que os capitães do reino de Jafanapatão tomavão em sy as rendas daquelle reino per cujo respeito não crescem pello temor que os lansadores tem, tudo em grande perjuizo da f[a]z[end]a de Sua M[ajestade] e muito contra seus regimentos e que passavão com muita soltura a pedir peça aos rendeiros para poderem usar das rendas, sem o que não ouzão alansar nellas, e quando o fazem hê com a diminuição da parte que hão de dar de pessa, pello que havendo tempo de se poderem fazer os tais arendamentos a vossa vista, aindaque seja alguns mezes antecipados, tratareis de o fazer com todo o beneficio que vos corre de obrigação a f[a]z[end]a de Sua M[ajestade], e sobre estes particulares tirareis inquizições das p[e]s[soa]s que por estes desencaminhos tem cido perjudicarais a mesma f[a]z[end]a para se aver por elles toda aquella parte que ouverem dada de perda, e se condenare[m] pello crime que comaterão conforme as leis do mesmo senhor, e tambem perguntareis se os tais capitães ou outras quaesquer pessoas em seu nome pedirão ou levarão pessa aos mercadores referidos que comprão fazem direitos na alfandega de S[ua] M[ajestade] pellos deixarem embarcar os tais elefantes e allias ou se os constrangem, ou constrangerão e lhe fretarem embarcações de menos bondade por nellas os embarcarem.

55. Ao recebedor de Triquilimale dareis ordem que vâ cassando todos os elefantes e allias que poder com os Bedas a preço que ficou assentado naquella fortaleza pello veedor da fazenda Amauro roiz e que outrossy procure de arecadar a penção dos ellefantes que os moradores de Tambalagama tem obrigação de dar debaxo de estipendio que lhe dão de peça, como ficou determinado, para que por todas as vias se procurem estas cassadas e se melhore f[a]z[end]a pera os effeitos necessarios, advertindo que pera os elefantes de dente estão contrattos em aberto com o nababo de Bengala que reside no porto de Orixâ, e com o naique de Madurê tudo em troco de salitre, cujo material Sua Majestade me dâ por mui encomendado em m[ui]tas cartas que me escreveu e assy vos ordeno em nome de mesmo S[enh]or que tenhais muita conta nestas cassadas, e comprimento de contrattos.

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1. The reference, it is clear from the preceding paragraphs, is to Jaffnapatnam. The " patane mercadores " lower down also probably refers to Jaffna merchants.

2. Illegible.

56. Todas as Adigarias que são tanto como recebedorias, hade ser provimento vosso, quando o não seja pellos visoreys porquanto em Jafanapatão he o mesmo que as vidanias em Ceilão, que arecadão permenor para dar conta ao feitor, e co[m] esta declaração se tirará o abuzo que os capitães de manar e Jafanapatão tem em cuidarem que podem prover os officios desta callidade, nem patangantinados emqu[an]to obrigatorios a darem conta de qualquer f[a]z[end]a ou tributo que recebão.

57. Ao capitão geral de Ceilão mando a copia de hu[m]a petição que aqui se me apresentou sobre o fazimento da fortaleza de Caliture, e ha quem se obrigue a pola em estado que se possa fazer omenagem por ella, cujo negocio se vos hade comunicar para entrardes com o vosso parecer, tomando o fiança ao prometido e estendendo condições de que vos e o capitão geral me aveis de dar conta.

58. Tambem lhe toco sobre a fortaleza de nigumbo, cujos contrattos se cumprirão tão mal por parte de Lourenço teix[ei]ra que se vio claramente ser El Rey o enganado em resão das aldeas, terras e serviço que se lhe deu pera o tal effeito a que não deu comprimento cujo negocio se tornarão a ver, e declarar o que ao mesmo capitão geral ordeno.

59. Levais provisão sobre o deposito que se hade fazer de todo o rendimento e d[inhei]ro da canella, que se tem aplicado pera as obras da fortificação de Columbo, pella qual entendereis o que S[ua] M[ajestade] ordenou neste anno que acabou de 638 allem do que vos haveis de aplicar, em visitar a mesma obra muito a muido, postoque a provisão hê geral pera as demais fortalezas da India supondo não aver nellas veedor da fazenda, em cujos negocios sempre tendes a superintendencia, como em todas as mais propriedades reaes, e fareis que creça a mesma obra, e que se ajuntem os materiais, vigilando preços, e medida da pedra, e sempre tereys por bem dar se de empreitada cada braça do muro pondo o empreiteiro pedra e maôs, assi como o serviço [1] e por parte del rey os acarretos de chunambo, como cousa que hade vir de fora antepondo estas obras a todas as outras como de mor importancia, e assy senão trabalhará em nenhu[m]a que não seja de fortificação em Columbo, Gaale, Jafanapatão, e Triquilimalle e ainda na ilha de Manar.

60. Vai provisão para o estanque do tabaco e condições de arendamento como aqui se faz, e me escreverão certas pessoas que não fora mao por se hum larim por saida allem do dereito real em cada amanao de areca quando Deus seja servido de tornar essa ilha em quietação, o qual desde agora dou por aplicado quando assy o consinta[m] o povo pera a mesma obra, e avendo repugnancia tornaremos a pôr a areca por avaliação com o mesmo dereito real, que se pagava em tempo dos gentios cuja diminuição se me não sabe dizer donde procedeo e do que ouver me avisais para prover como mais for serviço de S[ua] M[ajestade].

61. Pera os despachos das alfandegas tendes o regimento de Jorge Florim dalm[ei]da nos off[icia]es da por donde vos haveis de governar, cujos estillos estão mui correntes nos off [icia]es da mesma alfandega, assy de Colombo como de Nigumbo.

62. São mui necessarias duas outras allias machos para o serviço desta ribeira, e quando as não aja de prezente del Rey, tomareis quaesquer que achardes de partes, e as embarcareis nestes navios que hão de voltar em Abril, e tereis muito cuidado de as satisfazerdes com outras da mesam grandeza e bond[ad]e das primeiras que se casarem, advertindo que como armo quilha para novo galeão fica sendo muito mais necess[ari]o o serv[iç]o destes animais pello que vos dou este cap[itul]o por mui encomendado e consederando que a monção de Abril hê mais dellatada e fareis que venha o navio em que se embarcarem bem provido de agua.

63. A confiança que tenho feito de vossa pessoa e a exp[erienci]a que tendes adquerido me podião escuzar alguns cap[itul]os deste regimento, os quaes vos servirão todos, huns por advertencia e outros pera se saber o modo do como aveis de dispor, e caminhar assy volos dou todos, e cada hu[m] per sy por muy encomendados e por muy observada a guarda delles deixando a vosso juiso e disposiçam e maes que se offerecer de que sempre me hireis dando conta para resolver e determinar o que mais convier ao serviço de S[ua] M[ajestade] dado em goa Diogo Manuel o fez escrever a 3 da f[everei]ro de 639.

1. Only partly legible.

64. O nababo que governa as terras de Bengala quiz ha dous annos renovar os comercios que antigamente tinhamos nellas, e mos mandou offerecer e pedir cartaseş pa-a suas naos, os quaes lhe concedy, pera que as pudesse mandar a malacca, Ceilão, Cochim e esta cidade, em cujo comprimento mandou ja duas naus a Ceilam, e porque convem muito ao serviço de S[ua] M[agestade] que este tratto se conserve pello q[ue] delle pode resultar em utilidade do estado, assy pellos mantimentos e salitre que pode vir de Bengala como por outros muitos bons effeitos, vos encomendo q[ue] a estas naos de Bengala e a gente dellas façais sempre todo bom tratamento e gasalhado possivel com pagamentos pontuais do que se lhes tomar, porque como este comercio hê de importancia não convem que por nossa parte se dê occasião a se extinguir, e hey vos por muy encarregado a observancia deste cap[itul]o com advertencia que ao dito nababo escrevo a ordem que por elle vos dou e que convirá mostrardes aos mouros que a tendes pera os favorecerdes paraque se animem a continuar em Ceilão e quando estas naos aportem em Jafanapatão prevenireis ally ordem pera tambem aly se lhes fazer o mesmo bom tratamento.

65. Muitas vezes tem S[ua] M[ajestade] recomendado o poder se fazer pimenta na ilha de Ceilão, a cuja conta em todos os regimentos que se tem dado aos Veedores da fazenda se lhe faz memoria deste tal beneficio pello que vos ordeno que procureis que por toda a fralda do mar desde Madampê até Beligão e terras de Maturê se persuada por vossa parte e pella do cap[ita]m geral, aos naturais para que vão metendo pimenteiras pellos pês dos arecais e jaqueiras em toda a cantidade que lhes for possivel, assy pella fralda do mar como acertão em todas as terras que forem obedecidas a S[ua] M[agestade], e que se lhe farão favores allem da paga que pola tal pimenta se lhe hade fazer, em que eu vos ordeno que haja mui inteira satisfação para que vendo que lhe pagão e que se lhe faz favor pello tal beneficio se disponhão a essa cultivação.

66. Não acabão aqui os officiaes da f[a]z[end]a de dar no certo do pezo por donde os capitães dos navios hande entregar a canella que lá recebem, e sou certo segundo informação que os chaleas entregão aos vidanes da canella cento e dezaseis aRatens por cada fardo limpo de tara, por quanto depois se lhe lansão ás esteiras rota e cairo, e sempre que aqui chega se[m] embargo da quebra que pode ter nunca se ajustarão em conta certa, pello que vos ordeno que no fazimento da estiba estejão todos os captiães para se asinarem na listra que lhe fizerdes sem que fiquem allegando que se lhes não fez estiba e parece que bastão oito ou seis aRatens de abatimento do primeiro pezo por onde a recebe o vidana, pera do mais ficarem dando conta as taes capitães dos navios, e que tudo venha co[m] a clareza que de vos confio.

67. Muitas são as provisões que se tem passado a essa Ilha de Ceilão, desde t[em]po e governo do visorey dom Jeronimo dazevedo, em que S[ua] M[agestade] mandou tratar do tombo de toda a ilha, e por em livro dos proprios, tudo aquillo que pertencia a sua real fazenda, ou fosse sobre particulares de canella, sobre pimenta, sobre minerais, sobre areca, sobre vidanias sobre prohibição de cortes de madeira, sobre se não fazerem pataxos sobre direitos reaes, sobre elefantes e allias e finalmente sobre tudo o mais que seu for, e q[ue] de direito pertença ao mesmo S[enh]or, e assy de todas estas provisões passadas a beneficio da f[a]zend]a e conq[uis]ta haveis vos de guardar e observar muy inteiramente assy e da maneira que nellas se tem, sem embargo de não irem aqui declaradas cada hu[ma] per sy, porque todas achareis registadas no cartorio da f[a]z[end]a de Columbo e muitas dellas nos livros dos registos primeiro e segundo do Reino de Jafanapatão, co[m] o que mandou este regimento por mui encomendado pois delle depende o fim e administração daquillo para que vos mando.

8 de fevereiro 639 — Pero da Silva

Appendix III B

1. Pero da Silva etc. (1) make known to you Diogo Mendes de Brito, gentleman of the household of His Majesty, that in view of your many good qualities and of the satisfaction that you have given in those matters on which you have been employed in the service of the same lord, and[in the expectation] that you will give the same in the post of superintendent of revenue of the island of Ceylon, which I now entrust to you, in consideration of the experience you have acquired in the said island in military activities, (2) from which it is presumed that you will derive the understanding [necessary] for the good administration and the improvement of the revenues of His Majesty and that in every way you will know how to serve with much satisfaction on account of your [previous] career and experience already referred to, I now order you, immediately upon arrival in the said island, to submit at once the patent I ordered to be passed on you to the captain-general, from whom you will receive endorsement that it be complied with, and in order that you may in greater conformity [with them] be able to serve His Majesty, to communicate to him these standing orders for him to help you to fulfill and observe them so that by both these means the necessary objective of service to His Majesty may be realized, in military matters as well as in the improvement and maintenance of his royal revenues.

2. By the lists which the superintendent-general of revenue will hand over to you, you will see what aid in soldiers, money, rice and ammunition is now going out, all of which you will cause to be entered in the books, storing the rice in the warehouses, ammunition in the magazines and the cash in the deposit-chest in [the convent of] St. Francis, (3) of which one key will always be in your possession, the second in the hands of the guardian (4) and the third with the factor ; you will open up another account book numbered and rubricated by the revenue-secretary, at the beginning of which you will indicate the amount entered–authenticated by the secretary and the factor— and from the middle of the book onwards will be set out a record of withdrawals that may be made for expenditure, giving the day, the month and the year of each deposit and withdrawal entry.

3. Since the information we have now received from Dom Antonio Mascarenhas, the captain-general, (5) leads us to believe that the major part of the territories and more particularly the *mahabadda* of the chaleas (6) up to the Galle *korale* are coming under our authority [again] (7)—may it please God that all come to obey us ; therefore you will immediately summon the *durayas* of the *mahabadda* and in the presence of the *vidana* of cinnamon (8) ask them if they have prepared any cinnamon after the restoration of our authority and ask them also to transport that cinnamon to Galle or Colombo by sea or by land ; you will pay them cash to prepare as much cinnamon as they can make in the accustomed manner and according to the lists or registers with the *durayas* (9) ; you will do your best to ensure that they are not burdened with new customs other

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1. It was usual to enumerate here the titles and offices held by the person issuing the document e.g. of the council of state of His Majesty, his viceroy of India.....

2. Diogo Mendes de Brito had, about the year 1628, held the post of captain-major of the field in Ceylon. C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-38* p. 90. After the suspension of his office late in the year 1640, Brito apparently returned to Goa, and in 1642 went, with frei Gonçalo Veloso de São Joseph, to Batavia on a diplomatic mission. Prestage, *Diplomatic Relations of Portugal*, p. 186.

3. The Portuguese treasury in Ceylon was always housed at the Franciscan convent in Colombo.

4. of the convent of St. Francis.

5. Nominated captain-general of Ceylon on 10 May 1638 by the council of state in Goa, he left for Ceylon at the end of the same month. He held office for two years. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* II p. 223 ; British Museum, Addl. Ms. 41,996 Q. f. 66 b.

6. The caste to which the cinnamon peelers belonged.

7. In March 1628, Diogo de Mello de Castro led an ill-advised invasion against Kandy and was routed by Rajasinha II. This defeat was followed by a rebellion in the Portuguese areas. See K. W. Goonewardena, *The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon* pp. 16–17, 26. The reference here is to the re-establishment of Portuguese authority.

8. *Mahabaddu* means the great department or revenue. It had charge of peeling cinnamon. The *vidana* was its head and the *durayas* the subordinate chiefs.

9. Each *durayn*, it is clear from this, had with him a list giving particulars of all the peelers in his charge and the quantities that each was obliged to prepare.

than those to which they are already subject, for it is important to keep them in the service that they perform for His Majesty, and if their *vidana* should do otherwise, you will punish him for it up to dismissal, according to the degree of offence; as the collection of revenue is of the utmost importance, I put this matter to you as the one most to be commended to your care in these standing orders; you will note that there are many chaleas in the territories of Matara today and that it is possible to have from 200 to 300 *bahars* of cinnamon prepared for cash outside the *badda* [10] and over 100 in the Galle *korale* and [in the lands] from the Gintota river [11] up to the village of Beruwala, which is the usual settlement of the chaleas of the *mahabadda*, who are obliged to pay a tribute of six hundred *bahars* of four bales a *bahar* and who receive payment at the rate of two *pardaos* [12] for a *bahar* containing five bales, for any additional cinnamon.

4. To the section called *Ulanbadda* [13] which consists of the chaleas separated from their main body in the island and who have their habitation [in the area] from the Kelani and Kanampella river [14] towards Alutkuru *korale*, cash is distributed for the preparation of 300 *bahars* of cinnamon and although with these [recent] disturbances, it is possible that these chaleas may not be available, you will try to prepare the most that you can.

5. When the three royal villages of Duravaca, Valapane and Mandamarawita [15] render obedience, they customarily make 80 or 90 *bahars* of cinnamon for cash-payment; it is usual to entrust [the collection of] this to their *vidana*, through whom the distribution of money received from the factor has also to be channelled.

6. The chaleas who live in the villages of Madampe [16], which used to belong to Lançarote de Sexas, [17] prepare from 100 to 110 *bahars* of cinnamon a year, partly for payment and partly by way of *badda*, on account of the high lands that they enjoy free. Its *vidana* [18] is given charge of collecting this, as well as of other customary dues and revenues in money and rice.

7. Twelve *bahars* of cinnamon are prepared annually in the village of Bocalagama [19] and the cost is paid to the *vidana* who has charge of it; this revenue has been set apart to support the Colombo hospital; in the preparation of cinnamon, you will keep these things in mind, regulating your action according to the time and the people at your disposal for this to be done, and any cinnamon you find already prepared, you will despatch to this city, divided between two ships.

8. The grants that His Majesty has made to the Duke of Braganza and the Count of Vidigueira [20] are very well-known; neither exceeds sixty *bahars* a year, [21] except when arrears of previous years in which no cinnamon was prepared or taken away are added. Since if they are allowed to take away all their arrears together, the interests

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10. The people belonging to the *mahabadda* were obliged to prepare 600 *bahars* of cinnamon as their caste service to the state, as the same paragraph goes on to state, and for this they received no payment. Any additional cinnamon they prepared was paid for. Cinnamon outside the *badda* meant the extra cinnamon they prepared for cash-payment.

The *bahar* was a measure of weight varying between 400–500 lbs. Its varying nature is clear from what follows in the paragraph.

11. This is the Ginganga. Gintota is at the mouth of the river.

12. A coin the value of which was 300 Portuguese *reis* or three Ceylon *larins*.

13. The land-register prepared by the Portuguese for Ceylon adds an H before U to this word, and proceeds to explain that since *hulam* is wind in Sinhalese, the word means the department that is scattered or dispersed. In *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon* (p. 137) I doubted this explanation, and suggested that the word was possibly *sulubaddi* (sulu = small), to differentiate it from *mahabadda* (maha = great). This suggestion still has its attractions, but since then I have discovered that even in the Kandyan areas the word was *hulanbadda*. The possibility of a mistransliteration by the Portuguese has therefore to be ruled out.

14. That is, the Kelani river. Kanampella is higher up on the river, in Hewagam *korale*, near Avissawella.

15. Durawaca and Valapane are Dorawaka and Ballapana, both in the Kirawell *pattu* of the Kegalla district. Mandamarawita is mentioned in Queyroz's work once (p. 810), but cannot be identified. According to the *tombo*, Dorawaka produced 20 *bahars* of cinnamon, and Ballapana, 30. JCBRAS XXXVI pp. 145–46.

16. The reference is to Madampe near Chilaw. The plural is used because Madampe was at the head of twelve main villages and seven appurtenant villages. It was an ancient seat of royalty. Some glimpse of its history can be had from the *tombo*.

17. Lançarote de Seixas was twice the superintendent of revenue in Ceylon, was captain-major of Jaffna and captain of Colombo. For a short time, soon after the death of Constantino de Sa in 1630, he officiated for the captain-general. The existing copy of the *tombo* is authenticated by him.

18. *Vidana* here was the agent of the landholder, collecting the dues and ensuring that the fields were cultivated.

19. Either Bokalagama in the Hapitigam *korale* or Botalagama near Madampe above referred to.

20. The Braganzas were a leading aristocratic family in Portugal. At the Restoration of 1640, a Duke from the family became king of Portugal. The Vidigueiras were descendants of Vasco da Gama. That family received certain heritable concessions on account of Vasco da Gama's services to the Portuguese crown, of which this was one.

21. By 1652 the Braganzas were receiving 100 *bahars* a year. Goa, codex 1166 f. 223.

of His Majesty are likely to be prejudiced, on account of the great quantity involved, you will keep close watch on these exports. You will also bear in mind that it would be better if all cinnamon were to go through and be weighed at the warehouses in which the cinnamon of His Majesty is collected, so that no other may be smuggled out under cover of that of which I have just been speaking. There ought to be a separate register in which to set down all the cinnamon which may be embarked by the attorneys of the Duke and the Count of Vidigueira, the particulars of the period after 1633—the year in which any cinnamon on above accounts was first sent out ([22])— being elicited from questioning the said attorneys. Henceforth any cinnamon that may be prepared on this account will have to be in the villages of private individuals (without the chaleas being involved) and with your permission given in writing, the penalty for not channelling cinnamon through the royal warehouses being confiscation.

9. Concerning the arecanut of the island of Ceylon, in addition to what is collected in the lands of Curagama and Bulatgama ([23]) [the particulars of which] are set out for you in the dues-register ([24]), a further quantity of two hundred *amunas* at four *larins* an *amuna* is collected from the lands of the *mahabadda* of the chaleas, and in the lands of Sabaragamuwa two hundred *amunas* are prepared—and more might be gathered if the *dissavas* did not channel it to their personal gain. ([25]) For greater security and so as to give less offence to those disposed to feel the check, you will order the preparation of a statement for the *korales* of the said *dissava* ([26]) giving particulars of all the arecanut that the native inhabitants are obliged to contribute to the treasury of His Majesty.

10. And in the *dissava* and lands of Matara, starting from the Salpiti *korale*, Rayigam *korale*, Pasdun *korale*, and Walallawiti *korale*, the lands-register will show you how much arecanut is collected in them, ([27]) including some *amunas* called *deketi* which is a customary payment among the natives giving a thousand arecanuts for a silver *fanam* ([28]).

11. In the *korale* of Galle is collected the arecanut which is to be seen in the dues-register which the former superintendent of revenue Amauro Roiz ordered to be revised in that factory ([29]); you will note that the former captains claimed for themselves the right to this arecanut and that an order was given to have it taken away after the villages are leased out to the Portuguese, and only that which pertains to His Majesty remained in being.

12. The same superintendent ordered that all the arecanut belonging to the king's treasury in the Weligam and the Dolosdas *korales* and in the other lands of that *dissava* be checked against lists compiled from the lands-register; the lists are now with the collectors ([30]) and since these lists are in accordance with the lands-register prepared by Antão Vaz Freire, you will have to order the collection according to them.

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22. This is incorrect. The attorneys for the Count of Vidigueira reported in 1620 that in May the previous year, some cinnamon had been exported. A minute of the revenue council in Goa makes it clear that the concession to the Vidigueira family antedates even the creation of the monopoly, in 1615. Goa, codex 1160 ff. 71v., 110a.

23. Curagama is probably Kudagama, a name borne by many villages in many parts of Ceylon. As the Four *korales* was then, as now, noted for arecanut, the reference is probably to the village by that name there. Bulatgama is now divided into Lower Bulatgama and Uda (i.e. upper) Bulatgama.

24. Compiled by Antão Vaz Freire in 1615. A copy of it dated 1618 exists in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon as codex no 221.

25. According to the dues-register, Bulatgama delivered 375 *amunas* (for which there was no payment), the lands of the *mahabadda* 230 and the *dissava* of Sabaragamuwa, 400 (all on payment). AHU codex 221 ff. 171a, 270a.

26. The *dissava* was either a province or its governor. A *korale* was a subdivision of a province.

27. According to the dues-register, the Salpiti, Rayigam, Pasdun and Walallawiti *korales* delivered respectively 22, 86, 163 and 80 *amunas* of arecanut. AHU codex 221 f. 171a.

28. On *deketipanam* see note 2 on page 53.

29. This dues-register, as revised by Amauro Roiz, is not known to exist.

30. A new office, that of revenue-collector, seems to have evolved by the time this *regimento* was issued. As I have not come across any reference to this office prior to 1612, it was probably created after that date. From a document dated 14th March 1629 in the Goa archives (codex 1161 ff. 56–7), it appears that Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara, who was *vedor* at the time, created two posts of collector for the Seven *korales*, as the factor could not collect the land and customary revenues there on account of the distance from the capital. Each collector was paid 100 *xerafins* a year and was entitled to a subsistence allowance. From paragraph 20 of this *regimento* it is clear that there were collectors for *koralas* and sea-ports.

13. The territory of the Four *korales* contains eight *korales*, as you will have known, four in the uplands and four more in the lowlands, ([31]) for which you will order lists to be taken from that same lands-register and you will instruct the collector to issue cash advances according to them, as in other collectorships, for the preparation of the areca ; you will note that some arecanut is brought in by way of *badda* without any money transaction being involved, ([32]) which [incidentally] certain private individuals have wished to appropriate, although they have no right to it.

14. Also a quantity of arecanut is prepared in the villages of Durawaca, Valapane and Mandamarawita, as you will find in the lists which are with the *durayas*, the major quantity being from Mandamarawita by way of *badda* and for which no money is paid ; it is usual to entrust the collection of this arecanut to their *vidana*, for which as for other things he is obliged to give account to His Majesty's factor.

15. Arecanut is collected on payment of cash in the Alutkuru *korale* for which and for the other divisions of the Seven *korales*, you will order the compilation of lists based on the lands-register, to be given to the collector, who on your orders will proceed according to the particulars contained in that same lands-register.

16. In times of peace it is usual for some trains of pack-bullocks ([33]) to be brought down to the villages of Madampe to buy salt and fish and because of their proximity to Chilaw, ([34]) the captains of that port want to call them down to them, but as the villages are now His Majesty's, it is but fair that the *vidana* who is at Madampe should reap this gain for the king's treasury, in the same way as the lord [of the village] did, when it was his.

17. The villages known as those of the cattle-keepers ([35]) are theirs free of dues on account of the services that they are obliged to perform for the army-camp at Menikkadawara ([36]) in the carriage of rice and during the season for arecanut, in carting and collecting it ; their *vidana* has the obligation of distributing cash among the cattle-keepers for a little arecanut, ([37]) which depends on the duty and custom, all recorded in the above-mentioned lands-register, which is why His Majesty ordered these books to be compiled and in order to know from them what pertains to him, and therefore you will take what it lays down as your guide ; [but] you will know for certain that many things were concealed from Antonio(sic) Vaz Freire, for personal reasons, which afterwards came to light ; therefore you will take as your guide the lands-register and the standing orders that His Majesty ordered to be given to that superintendent of revenue, and also all other instructions, decrees, and letters which have been issued for the good government of the island of Ceylon, which I now greatly commend to you in the name of His Majesty ; you will bear in mind that neither the captain-general nor the board ([38]) can derogate or alter anything that His Majesty may have ordered, on pain of having to pay from their own property double the value of the loss sustained by the said lord.

18. The villages in which there is iron ([39]) which His Majesty ordered to be kept apart for his use are the following : Bombala situated in the Pasdun *korale*, Cosgore and Nogodanda in the Kuruwiti *korale*, Ariagama and Indiegalla in the Seven *korales*, Atagalāopane in Atulugam *korale*, Querem in Dolosdas *korale* and the village Opanaique in Sabaragamuwa ([40]), apart from the tribute of four hundred loaves ([41]) of iron which

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31. Some documents list only seven : Beligal, Handapandunu, Kinigoda, Galboda, Paranakuru, Siyane, and Hapitigam (Queyroz p. 43 Lisbon, Torre do Tombo, *Livros das monções* vol. 45 f. 307). Of these, the first four are in the uplands. It is likely that for administrative convenience, one of the *korales* in the adjoining *dissava* of the Seven *korales* was attached to the Four *korales*, at the time this *regimento* was issued.

32. For arecanut collected from the villages of the royal store-house, no cash payment was made. This was the *kotikabadda*, (*kotika* = arecanut), referred to as *badda* here. Where a payment was made, arecanut so collected was called *mila kotika* (mila = money). See, Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, pp. 37–8.

33. The word in the document, *boyada* or *boiada*, means a herd of oxen. But here the reference is certainly to pack-bullocks, " In times of peace " suggests that the trade was with the Kandyan lands.

34. Chilaw is some seven or eight miles from Madampe. The fish referred to here is dried fish, a favourite Ceylonese dish even today.

35. In point of fact, cattle in these villages were kept neither for meat, milk, nor even primarily for agricultural purposes, but for use as pack-animals. In the Kandyan lands, cattle-keepers were organized as a service department called the *Madige*.

36. In Beligal *korale*. The Portuguese army was stationed there on account of its strategic position on the way to Kandy. The foundation of the fort is still intact.

37. Only twenty *amunas* in 1615, according to the dues-register.

38. See note 57 on page 14.

39. The Portuguese expression *aldeas de ferro* literally means iron-villages.

40. Bombala is Bombuwala in the Kalutarabadda of the Kalutara district. Cosgore is Kosgoda in the Kuruwiti *korale*, Ratnapura district. Nogodanda is Nugadanda in the Kuruwiti *korale*. Atagalāopane is Atakalanpanne in the Atakalan *korale*.

Querem is Kirama in the Giruwa *pattuwa* of the Hambantota district. Opanaique is Opanake in the Medi *korale* of the Ratnapura district. Ariagama is either Andigama or Achari gama (i.e. smiths' village) of which there are several in the Kurunegala district. Indiegalla is either Indigollayaya or Hindagolla, both in the Kurunegala district.

According to the dues-register, Bombuwala, Kosgoda, Nugadanda, Atakalanpanne, Kirama and Opanake gave respectively 600, 780, 720, 1,550, 2,400 and 240 'loaves' of iron. According to a report made by a British Civil servant, even about 1815 the iron works at Kirama were still functioning.

The following report on the processing of iron in Ceylon, taken from the minutes of the revenue council in Goa (codex 1161 f. 51 v.) is likely to be of interest. " . . . .in the said island of Ceylon there are no iron-ore mines ; what is found are a certain kind of stone in some villages ; when these stones are burnt in kilns with limestone, there issues forth impure iro which when smelted, some iron balls are formed, which in that island are called " loaves ".

41. The Portuguese word *pão* can be translated as 'roll' or 'loaf'.

the chaleas pay annually by custom and which, according to information, the *vidanas* of the blacksmiths ([42]) have appropriated for themselves; particulars of all these villages according to the same lands-register have to be taken down, both for the collection of the iron and of arecanut, *dekum*, ([43]) and other customary payments, for which their inhabitants and *durayas* are liable.

19. You will ensure that all this iron, after it has been received, is turned at the gun-foundry works ([44]) into arquebuses ([45]) taking six-eighths shot, ([46]) inscribing on the arquebuses a sphere to indicate that it is crown property, so that wherever one is found, it shall be known whose it is and in the same manner [the iron is to be converted into] muskets on swivels ([47]) for the use of the army, with the same arms marked thereon and none shall manufacture or use them who does not do so in the name of His Majesty, on pain of forfeiture wheresoever they may be found; the same mark shall be put on all the lances that may be made for the army; you will order that in one of the foundry works nothing else shall be made except cannon shot of the calibre needed for use in the forts of Colombo, Galle and other places as necessary; for this purpose we have it on good authority that the best place is within the *mahabadda* of the chaleas, because of the [availability of the] services of the *putabenas* ([48]) for making charcoal, and where already much shot has been manufactured for the same artillery.

20. The twelve villages that His Majesty ordered to be set part for defraying the expenses of the conquest ([49]) will be well known to you, because they have been entered in his books at the handing over of the office to the factor, who today is Thomé de Gouvea, from whom they have to pass on to all other factors who shall succeed to the conquest and factory of Colombo; you will find all the *vidanaships* and villages to which the king has the title as a credit entry in the same book, and over these no other person but you or the superintendents of revenue who shall succeed you shall have jurisdiction ([50]), whether for renting them out, or in cases where there are no renters, for appointing *vidanas* to them, so that the benefits from them accrue to the crown to the

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42. The blacksmiths were organized as a separate department, called the *kottalbadda* i.e. artificers' department.

43. *Dekum* literally means seeing. It was a customary payment made on the occasion of seeing the king, by the government officials and the landholders. See also para. 40 of this document.

44. A document dated 13 October 1632 from Goa (codex 17 f. 125 v.) shows that there were three gun-foundries in Ceylon under the Portuguese, in Malwana, in Matara and in the Seven *korales*. The works at Malwana were probably at the place now called Yatoraluwa, which name means the place where the iron dross was dumped.

45. The arquebus was the forerunner of the musket and was first used by the Spaniards in the 16th century. See the illustrated article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1969 edition). The curator of the Royal Artillery Institution at Woolwich has kindly furnished me with the information that the calibres of the arquebus varied from 0.8 to 1.1 inch.

46. Six-eighths here seems to mean six-eighths of an ounce. See Schurhammer and Voretzsch, *Ceylon* I p. 268.

47. *Mosquetes de pee* i.e. foot-muskets. They were so called because each gun had a swivel or rest. Also called gingalls or grass-hopper guns. The Sinhalese word for any form of artillery, *kalaluwakku*, is held to be derived from the Tamil translation *mosquetes de pee*, kāl (i.e. leg) tupakki (i. e. gun).

48. This Sinhalese word means sons and nephews (or sons-in-law). That this was certainly the sense in which it was used is clear from its definition as *filhos e genrros* in a Portuguese document. Rev. Fr S. G. Perera was therefore in error when he suggested that the word is the same as *patabanda* (meaning dignitary) in the English translation to Queyroz's work (p. 1030). Queyroz explains what they had to do: " the *putabenas*, though of the caste of chaleas, were only obliged to make cinnamon into bundles and to erect the storehouses in which it is stored. " (ibid. p. 1030). A study of the Portuguese *tombo* shows that the sons, brothers, sisters and brothers' sons of *duraya* were not obliged to peel cinnamon, and that they all fell within the definition of *putabenas*. The term, it is therefore clear, indicated a relationship between the headman—the *duraya*—and some of his relatives by blood. The *putabenas* were a privileged group within the chalea caste, and their privileges derived from their relationship to the *duraya*. This privilege consisted of exemption from peeling cinnamon, and the giving of their labour only for the ancillary services connected with cinnamon storage. The viceroy was obviously trying to turn the labour service to other uses.

49. The original royal order to set apart twelve villages for the expenses of the conquest was sent out from Portugal in 1622. It was felt that as the king's arms had conquered the territories and the king's treasury was being depleted by the effort to defend them against Kandy and internal rebellion, the benefits from land should not all be enjoyed by private individuals. The expenditure on the army was therefore to be defrayed by the income from the twelve villages. But the captain-general protested against the order. (Goa, codex 16 f. 344). By 1634, however, it seems to have been implemented, for Diogo de Mello complained that year that more than 12 villages had been taken over for the treasury. (Goa, codex 27 f. 100 a). Only two of these villages are known by name, Gampaha and Munnessarama. (Queyroz p. 1092; Goa, codex 22 f. 234a).

50. Azevedo's view was that some at least of these *vidanaships* should come directly under the captain-general—see page 50.

betterment of its revenue ; such *vidanas* or renters are entitled to justice from you where they apply for it, and you will give them [the right of] appeal to the *Juiz dos Feitos e Fazenda* (51) in this court. And in order that you may the better exercise your powers in such rentings out [of villages] and in making appointments of collectors of *korales*, sea-ports and other offices connencted with revenue, you will tell the captain-general to proclaim in all the four *dissavas* (52) and forts of the island the manner in which your official documents and orders ought to be observed and obeyed ; and I trust that the captain-general, becuase of his zeal in serving His Majesty, will comply with this, (53) this being a royal order; should posts to which appointments are made by the king or the viceroy fall vacant, you will put them up for auction (54) on the half-annates scheme (55) for the remaining period, until they are newly provided for in this court, and of which you will proceed to give me an account.

21. The factor Thomé de Gouvea is at the end of his three-year period and no one provided with the office of the factory at Colombo has [yet] set out, though I have received notice of someone having been awarded it as a marriage dowry, (56) and that the party cannot come to this court to present his claim for installation because of the war ; if therefore some one produces before you the letter-patent or the royal decree, you will order the preparation for him of a ledger of receipts, expenditure, customs house and dues—all seen and rubricated by the revenue-secretary and you will cause to be copied on the front page of this ledger those standing orders relating to accounting procedures and the muster-roll which are found in the books of the other factors, with a certificate at the end and another at the beginning giving the number of folios that each book contains ; (57) from the time of your arrival you will go on balancing the accounts of the factor who is finishing his term and taking delivery of the office, artillery, stores and ammunitions—all according to what you find in the accounts of Thomé de Gouvea, and finally the rice and money, in such quantity as exists, together with any drugs or other materials so that he may have sufficient time to be discharged [of all liabilities] and you will take sureties from the said Thomé de Gouvea to present himself before the audit office here and if he does not furnish sufficient surety, you will make sure that he comes here under close guard.

22. After Antão Vaz Freire's land-register was completed, some villages which had not been included there began appearing at various times and because these were in separate lists, some made by Miguel Pinheiro Ravasco, others by Lançarote de Sexas, still others by Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara and a larger number in the time of the superintendent of revenue Amauro Roiz, who, I am told, [therefore] ordered the preparation of a separate register in which were copied out all such villages as were being

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51. A term for which an English equivalent is not available. This officer was, as is clear from the context, a high-ranking judge.

52. The Portuguese, following the Kotte rulers, continued to have the four *dissavas* into which the kingdom had been divided. They were Matara, Sabaragamuwa, the Seven and the Four *korales*.

53. The reference here to " your documents and orders " (*vossas ordes e mandados*) does not appear to be a return to the position laid down in the *regimento* of Antonio da Fonsequa, for the phrase can mean orders signed by the captain-general and issued on behalf of the superintendent. The language here is also not as strong as in the document of 1638 (see page 16). There is no doubt, however, that Pero da Silva sought to lever the superintendent to a position where he would be a check on the captain-general.

54. The auctioning of public office was started by a royal decree issued from Madrid on 2 May 1614. (Decree reproduced in Pissurlencar's *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* III pp. 252–53). From information collected by Figueiredo de Falcão, it had become known that holders of public office in the east were making vast fortunes by way of perquisites and therefrom a feeling grew that the crown too was entitled to a share. (Falcão's work, *Livro em que se contem toda a Fazenda e Real Patrimonio dos Reinos de Portugal, India e ilhas adjacentes* has been published in Lisbon in 1859). The decree was the result of this point of view.

A document dated 8 January 1639 gives us some idea of how much the posts were auctioned for. The captaincy of Colombo fetched 8,050 *xerafins*, and the factory there 600. A sum of 4,450 *xerafins* was paid for the captaincy of Galle and 400 for the post of *vidana* of Chilaw. (IOL, Portuguese Transcripts, vol. 73 f. 333).

55. Created by the Spanish statesman Olivares in 1631 (see also page 24), the scheme of half-annates (*meia-anata*) applied to all government posts carrying salaries, only the ecclesiastical offices being exempt. Its basic principle was that every one who held a salaried post must pay back a part of his income to the state. If the post was held for longer than three years, the share to the government was half the annual salary—hence the term haf-annate. Where the duration of office was three years or less, the share to be paid back was correspondingly less. *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa-Brasileira* vol. XVI (Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, no date). It is possible that the idea was borrowed from the Church, where the payment of annates or ' first fruits' was well established by the time of the Renaissance.

56. See note 10 page 38.

57. The following entry from codex 280 of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon should make clear what is meant here : " *Este he o trasllado do terceiro Livro do tombo da ilha de Ceilão . . . e tem duzentas e vinte tres folhas comessando nesta que he a primeira e acabão na em que está o numero 223 que todas vão numeradas pellas cabessas . . .*" (This is the copy of the third book of the *tombo* of the island of Ceylon . . . . . and it has two hundred and twenty-three folios, beginning with this which is the first and ends with that which has the number 223 and all are numbered at the top..... ...). There was a similar act suitably amended, entry at the end.

uncovered ([58]) ; you will proceed in the same manner to recover other such villages ; note that all those, be they Portuguese or Sinhalese, who have a village set down in the king's books at a quit rent, acquire rights therein for their lifetime and by the same token, should there be any person who is holding a village concealed, without paying such a rent, you are at once to seize it from him, drawing the attention of the board ([59]) to this clause and to the village which you uncovered ; notwithstanding this however, if it is found that the person concerned is a *lascarin* you will have to pay regard to that fact to the extent of assessing the land for quit rent and allowing him free use of its products and cultivation for this reason : if we do not allow this and forcibly take away what gives him his livelihood, he will bear us less affection because of the uncertainty of his sustenance ; on this point I order and command you and the captain-general in the name of His Majesty that no captain or *dissava* shall do violence to these soldiers by taking away what is theirs. ([60])

23. And although these native men are under the jurisdiction of the captain-general in their capacity as *lascarins* or *dissavas*, nonetheless as lessees of crown land, you have the obligation of representing matters and of reporting to the captain-general the injury done to them, should they make any complaints to you on your circuits in the country, in order that they may have some means of remedying the violence to which they are subject.

24. Of all the chaleas, pannayas, ([61]) the king's hunters, ([62]) and the other people belonging to these villages and *vidanaships*, you are the judge, except in cases of homicide, or the crime of *lese majeste*, divine or human ; ([63]) although you can take cognisance of their offences [in your capacity as their judge] you should, after completing the preliminaries for a trial, send the cases up for sentencing to the *ouvidor* ([64]) together with the captain-general, for this is what has been decided by the officials of the High Court ; this decision has been embodied in a decree which you will find registered in the treasury books ; should new [types of] cases arise, which seemingly cannot be determined by the board or by the general and the *ouvidor*, you will seek instructions from this court on how best justice is to be served.

25. The proprietorship and lordship that His Majesty has over the elephants and *alias* ([65]) of the whole island ([66]) is set out very clearly in the decree which he ordered to be issued ([67]) to the superintendent of revenue, Antão Vaz Freire ; [by it] their capture has been forbidden to any person, whatever his quality, beginning with the captain-general, the other captains and officials in all parts of Ceylon, and as such you will have to ensure that the royal treasury derives the maximum possible benefit from the capture of the said elephants and *alias*.

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58. None of the lists referred to here is known to exist. A land-register, compiled by Miguel Pinheiro Ravasco in 1622 in respect of the villages in the Two *korales* and some parts of the Atakalan *korale*, left unregistered in Vaz Freire's *tombo*, however, exists as Ms. 2637 in the *Fundo Geral* of the Bibliotheca Nacional in Lisbon and has been translated and published as *The Tombo of the Tuo Korales* (translated and edited by Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera, Colombo 1938). It is also to be noted that Amauro Rolz, in a report dated 13 December 1638, states that in addition to the *tombos* prepared by Freire and Ravasco, he himself added another, in which particulars of some 100 villages are entered. (Goa, codex 1498 f. 181 v). This too has not yet been found.

59. See note 57 p. 14.

60. It is clear that the *lascarins*, though once despised, were now considered worthy of privileged treatment, at least in the eyes of the government. The reason was that their numbers had fallen catastrophically—from 12,000 at the beginning of the 17th century to just one-third that number by 1635. (Queyroz p. 566 ; B M Sloane Manuscript 197 f. 351 b). With the decline in numbers, there was keener appreciation of their value. In 1630, a Portuguese captain who claimed 34 years of experience in the east, admitted that " *a guerra desta ilha se não pode fazer sem gente preta* " (war in this island is not possible without black soldiers). Next year, the count of Linhares said virtually the same thing : ..... " *sem gente preta se não pode conquistar e entrar pella terra dentro* " (without black soldiers it is not possible to conquer or penetrate inland). He added that even if a sufficient number of white soldiers were available, native soldiers would still be needed to transport baggage, to cut through the jungle and to clear the pathways. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* I p. 359; I.O.L. Port. Trans. vol. 72 f. 42.

61. The pannayas were those who provided fodder to elephants in the royal stables.

62. Though called *cassadores*—(hunters), they did not hunt elephants, but only captured them.

63. *Lese Majeste* is an offence against the sovereign authority, especially treason. *Lese majeste* divine was, therefore, any offence against God, e.g. sacrilege.

64. The crown judge.

65. Queyroz says that female elephants have no tusks protruding out of the mouth and are called *aleaz*, and Ribeiro agrees with this definition. (Queyroz, p. 73 ; Riberio, *Historical Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon* p. 55.) But paragraph 62 of this document has the phrase *allias machos* (male alias). A document at Goa (codex 1161 f. 80 a) has the phrase *alias femaes o machos* (alias, female and male). Queyroz and Ribeiro are therefore wrong. The word *alia.* as used then and as it is still used, meant an elephant who has no tusks-male or female.

66. The Portuguese claim to ownership of the elephants of the whole island derived from their claim that they were the rightful rulers of Ceylon, and that Kandy was a rebel kingdom.

67. This decree is dated 3 January 1612 and is reproduced in Cunha Rivara, *Archivo-portuguez oriental*, fasc. VI p. 887.

26. And starting from the lands of Matara, you are aware that, according to the lands and royal dues registers, those hunters are obliged to deliver each year thirty head of elephants, ([68]) including *alias* and tuskers ; and inasmuch as the *dissavas* of Matara are in the habit of taking away some of the maintenance lands and villages of these hunters, making use of them contrary to the said dues-register and giving them over to their servants, on account of which the holders become displeased and show less interest in what is their proper obligation, I order you to deal with these men and their maintenance lands in precisely the same way as has been laid down in the lands register, so that nothing goes amiss in respect of their income.

27. The *vidanaship* of Kuruwe ([69]) ought to go to one who takes the field with the hunters and who is very knowledgeable on the whereabouts of tusker-elephants in order to capture them with noose and tame *alias*, as this was usually done in the time of the heathen rulers, ([70]) and erect corrals each year in the Seven and the Four *korales*, where they can most readily gather the said elephants ; [you will also] take heed that as soon as the elephants of Matara and of the *vidana* of Kuruwe have been captured and taken to the places where they are fed, they have to be registered in the accounts, with the description of the size and distinguishing marks of each, and the *alias* in like manner, so that for all time there will be recorded the number of animals caught ; you will also issue certificates of discharge to the factors to whose accounts these were charged in respect of those elephants or *alias* which die.

28. In Mangul *korale* there are hunters of the king whose duty it is to hunt this sort of animals, of which the *dissavas* of that territory are in possession, contrary to the laws and regulations of His Majesty, and therefore you should keep in touch with the revenue collector of the Seven *korales* so that he may take care, in this part of his charge, that they undertake such hunts, which are commonly by means of nooses.

29. The Vanni chiefs of Puttalam ([71]) are obliged to give ten elephants a year, as is clear from the said lands—and dues—registers, ([72]) for which service they freely enjoy those territories untaxed ; when the post of captain of that station was created, he proceeded to divert these hunts, often taking the control of them into his own hands, and sending the elephants as misappropriated merchandise that way over to Mannar ; because of this I order you to entrust the conduct of these hunts to the revenue-collector of Chilaw and Puttalam ; these hunts nowadays are not conducted unless money and rewards are promised to these elephant-catchers ; you will order the revenue-collector to set up his station in the village of Madampe and make available to him the services from a village of pannayas in Kalpitiya, of which the fathers of the Company [of Jesus] have sought to obtain possession, though it is not theirs ([73]) ; by means of this service, it will be possible to sustain this hunt, with great profit to the king's revenue, the which I greatly commend to your care.

30. The heathen kings had applied the [services of the] people of the mining villages ([74]) to digging for precious stones, [but] recent experience has shown that little profit is gained from such digging, and therefore the lands being under our authority you will order all these people to employ themselves in cultivating their lands, because these lands are well-suited to produce much food, not only for the garrisons at Sabaragamuwa, but also therewith to come to the help by bullock-trains or down the river to whichever place has need of such food ; [you will cause them] also to occupy themselves in raising arecanut, without any person of whatever quality ordering them to other jobs, or purchasing the said arecanut, all arecanut being collected by your order : you will entrust its collection to the *vidanas* and revenue-collectors of those lands ; I am informed that much greater profit to the royal treasury can be obtained by this method than in searching for precious stones of such poor estimation and value as have been found ; after the lands are quiet, when you go out of Colombo to pay the army, you could personally visit Sabaragamuwa to instruct the headmen of those villages as to

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68. This was from the Dolosdas *korale*, within the Matara *dissava*.

69. Kuruwe was the department which had charge of the royal elephant stables.

70. Wild elephants were caught by one of two methods—either by driving them into a corral or noosing them with the aid of tame female elephants. That both methods were practised in the seventeenth century is clear from this paragraph.

71. The Vanni was the territory wedged between the Jaffna peninsula in the north and the Kandyan kingdom in the south. It was ruled by a number of chiefs, their number varying considerably at different periods. Though the document here uses the plural *os Vanias*, according to the *tombo* there was only one in Puttalam in 1615, the Raja Vanniya.

72. The *tombo* of 1613-15 refers to a tribute of only seven elephants. Pieris, *The Ceylon Littoral*, (Colombo 1940) pp. 2-3.

73. Kalpitiya was granted to the Jesuits in the time of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo. The pannaya village referred to here, according to the *tombo*, is Tetapalla.

74. The Sinhalese word *akara*, retained in Portuguese documents as *agras*, is usually translated as mines. But precious tones in Ceylon were not dug from mines, but from shallow pits or river-beds.

how they should set about the tillage of the lands and the collection of arecanut; fix what seems a fair annual contribution and forbid anyone to order, or employ, these or any other people in digging for precious stones or extracting crystal, on pain of forfeiture of his property, because in those ways their services, which will be of greater importance when applied to the cultivation of the lands, will be lost.

31. In order that the island shall be better served and the foodstuffs of the king transported from the place where they are collected to the granaries ([75]) of the said lord, you must act so as to maintain the *vidanaship* of the pack-bullocks, bring under it all such villages as bear the pack-bullock designation, because the captains-general, for their personal reasons, have been giving away such villages, thus depriving [the crown] of a service so necessary; [you will also ensure] that no *dissava*, captain-major of the field or captain-general can use them save for the designated purposes of carrying foodstuffs and arecanut belonging to the treasury.

32. The *vidanaship* of the pannayas should always be distinct from that of Kuruwe, without the example of their having been joined in the *Banacas* ([76]) being quoted, for that was done by the captains-general for a very particular purpose, because of the lordship which they thereby claimed over elephants and *alias*, which is not the case now by the order and decree, already referred to, of His Majesty in whom the proprietorship and lordship over these animals has been vested, in the same manner as the heathen kings of the said island held it; wherever there are pannayas or pannaya villages, they have to come under the same *vidanaship*, but not for the *vidana* to obtain the services for himself or gain interests which could diminish the profits of the royal treasury; you will note that there is no pannaya village which is not subject to the obligation of delivering arecanut to His Majesty, as you will find in the registers of land and royal dues, ([77]) from which you will order a separate register to be prepared, giving particulars of the contributions by the said pannayas; you will also bear in mind that of the four *gattaras* ([78]) which are the settlements of the pannayas, the head is Bandupetim. ([79]) This had been given out at a quit rent to the prejudice of the king's treasury, but now it has been again attached to *gattaras*, where a goodly quantity of arecanut is raised for cash, and thirty *amunas* or so are contributed by way of *badda*, without any money being paid for this, as you will see from the same lands-and dues-registers.

33. The *vidanaship* of Kuruwe mentioned in these standing orders has as its head the village Uragamella, ([80]) and in addition some twelve or fourteen other villages, as you will see from the entries in the factor Thomé de Gouvea's office, and the properties register, which the superintendent of revenue, Amauro Roiz, was completing; ([81]) and though these being the king's villages, no land-register was ever prepared for them on account of the obligation which the Banacas who enjoyed them had towards the captains-general, as I am informed that at present some arecanut and a good deal of foodstuff are collected from them, I order you in the name of His Majesty that upon this *vidanaship* being visited by you, that you should investigate the extent of its revenue, not taking into account, however, the maintenance lands of the [elephant] hunters, as has always been the case.

34. All penalties and fines levied in the island of Ceylon, whether in the high court at Malvana and the residence of the captain-general, ([82]) or in the *dissavas*, or by any *vidanas* or collectors, are moneys pertaining to the king ([83]), and as such have to be entered in the books on the credit side, and in the same manner all fines levied by the

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75. *Pattayama* (spelt *pataya* in this document), the word used for granary, is of South Indian origin. One of these granaries was at Menikkadawara, and a *kanakapulle* had charge of it. Goa, codex 1161 f. 55 b.

76. *Banaca* is defined in Queyroz as secretary or interpreter. (pp. 756, 1039). The meaning of the phrase 'joined together in the *banacas*' is not clear; perhaps it means that the *banaca* had control over both *vidanas*.

77. According to the dues-register, the *vidana* of the pannayas had to give 50 *amunas* of arecanut.

78. These were Malagattara, Pasdungattara, Pelpolagattara, and Rayigam gattara. The word *gattara* means either a captive or one who has been degraded by the king.

79. The village of Bondupitiya in the Pasdun *korale* west.

80. Probably Udaganella in the Siyane *korale* east. The Kuruwe *vidana* was stationed at Malvana, and Udaganella is within a few miles of Malvana.

81. We do not know whether this was completed. No copy has yet been found.

82. There seems to have been two courts at Malvana—one created in Azevedo's time in place of the *mahanaduwa* of the Sinhalese kings and the other consisting of the captain-general and the crown judge, referred to in paragraph 24 of this document. Both courts had jurisdiction over the native Sinhalese, but the latter seems to have been specifically concerned with the *baddas* and the cases sent up to it by the superintendent of revenue.

83. It may be noted here that the contrary was the practice in the Kandyan kingdom, where the fines levied were the perquisites of the judges.

ouvidores of Ceylon, whether in Mannar, Jaffnapatnam, or any other place in the same island ([84]) have been applied by many viceregal provisions that you will find registered in the treasury books, half of them to the expenses of the hospital in Colombo, and you will order this money to be remitted to the factor for the above-stated purpose.

35. The *bandigaralas* ([85]) began the practice of frequently appropriating to themselves the *dekum* and customary payments and even the fines from the *vidanaship* of the blacksmiths, and consequently so little of these moneys come into the factors' receipt books, I am informed, that what enters there is much less than in reality is collected and the damage done to the villages in which these blacksmiths live is even greater because of the *kanganies* ([86]) whom the *bandigaralas* send out, so that it would be better not to collect this *dekum* [at all] because they amount to so little; but as they pertain to the treasury, it is advisable to compile separate lists of blacksmiths in the lands of Sabaragamuwa, Matara, the Four and the Seven *korales*, with the help of the master-foundrymen, allocating against the name of each blacksmith the period during which he has to serve in the foundries and leaving them time also for cultivating and utilising their maintenance lands; you will commute all *dekum* payable in cash into payments in iron for lance heads, since the need for arms is greater than for the small quantity of money which you will find set down in the registers, and in its place you will set down the same in terms of iron for lance heads, both for *dekum* and tribute payment, always indicating at the bottom the amounts of those which are customarily paid in Sabaragamuwa.

36. The vidanaship of woodcutters is one which renders the greatest service to the army, for in the first place, it is customary to use it for clearing the pathways, as well as for the porterage of ammunition; nevertheless, all these villages of woodcutters produce arecanut and although they owe their services on account of the maintenance lands that they enjoy free [of dues], the arecanut which is gathered in these villages is the king's; ([87]) you will have this publicly declared and then deprive the *vidanas* of the usurped possession to which they have laid claim, without its belonging to them, by making use of the favour which the generals extend to them. After estimating the quantity which in each of these villages is collected, according to the lands-and dues-registers, you will have to disburse the funds for collecting this arecanut. If there are some who enjoy these lands by lease, note that such lessees have the obligation of accompanying their woodcutters whenever the army marches, and also of supplying timber such as rafters, beams, planks, wheels and such other things as may be necessary for public works such as the hospital, the cathedral, the cinnamon warehouses and the construction of army living quarters, and other work done in the name of His Majesty; excepting for the purposes above declared, it is not permitted to cut down [trees for] masts, nor fell jak or angelim trees, ([88]) under the penalties laid down by ordinance, except on licences issued by you for the stated purposes of the service of the said lord.

37. Every year you must order the disbursement of the funds you deem requisite among those *vidanas* for the construction of cadjan huts, with which the army-camp, the magazines and the garrisons ought to be always sufficiently provided, and some extra huts for any contingencies.

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84. This list of officials entitled to hold court and impose fines or other punishment is the only such list I have seen among Portuguese records. Add to this the information given in paragraphs 23 and 24, and then one gets a fair understanding of the judicial structure of the Portuguese in Ceylon.

85. This appears to be one of the offices retained for service in the captain-general's residence, from the establishment maintained by the Kotte kings. The derivation of the word is obscure, but it has been suggested that it is from *Bhandagarika rala*, meaning Lord Treasurer. His true function under the Portuguese was the captaincy of the bodyguard of the captain-general. (Bocarro, *Decada XIII* p. 11). The captain-general used him, however, for other purposes, notably for obtaining control over the revenue departments. Thus he had charge of the foundry works, the smiths and the iron-villages, wherein " he was more obeyed than the superintendent of revenue " (IOL Portuguese Transcripts, *Livros das Monções*, no. 44 f. 228 document dated 3rd December, 1638).

86. *Kanguni* is a Tamil word which means a minor supervisor or a foreman.

87. In 1615, the dues register calculated that 52 *amunas* of arecanut were due from this source.

88. Jak (*artocarpus integrifolia*) is valuable both for its timber and for its fruit, which often is a substitute for a meal. The prohibition on felling this tree dates from 1615. (Doc. Rem. III p. 199). Curiously enough, there is such a prohibition in force even today.

Angelim is one of several tropical trees growing in Asia or America. (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary* 1961 edition and the *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro). In the east, however, the word appears to have been used only for *artocarpus hirsuta* (Hobson-Jobson). But this tree, though a native of Malabar, is not found in Ceylon. It is almost certain that the reference here is to what may be called its Ceylonese cousin *artocarpus nobilis* (Sin. *del*). Both in their fruit and leaves, the trees are very similar, and what is more, both yield a wood which is considered excellent for boat-building, on account of its ability to withstand salinity. This tree, it may be added, even now fetches high prices and is used for boat-building.

38. In the lands of Sabaragamuwa and in the Galle and Matara areas, pitch is collected, not [however] as an obligation on the part of the natives, but for cash, which is paid to them because of the labour involved in collecting it from tree-trunks and boles, ([89]) you will apportion funds in moderate amounts for this, so that they will have greater incentive in collecting this on account of the payment and you will commend this to the *vidanas* and collectors of those lands, so that the storehouses of the king may always be well-stocked ; the same [distribution of funds] will have to be done among all the *goripos*, ([90]) both for the lance-shafts and for the other equipment they furnish, which you will ensure is sent every year in sufficient quantities to this city of Goa for ramrods and ladles to be used with the artillery, ([91]) with which we ought to be better provided from those areas ; you will have the same forethought in ordering the making of coir rope all the year round in Madampe ([92]) and in the chalea villages at the prevailing market price, in order that there may always be adequte stocks for use on the vessels.

39. The vessels that arrived last year from Malacca are in the docks there, to which those of the Mannar armada have been added ; of these you must arm those that are likely to be of the greatest use for the pearl fishery ; you can sell the others for which no equipment is available, all for the benefit of the funds of the royal treasury, as I had already ordered your predecessor to do ; in particular one should be sold to Antonio de Mendonça de Brito, resident of Nagapattanam, whose ship, I am told, was taken when it went with provisions to the fort of Malacca ([93]) and who now wants another vessel for the same purpose.

40. The *dekum* of all the villages of the island of Ceylon are a royal due and tribute which all the cultivators and village officers offered to the kings of that island on account of the maintenance lands that they enjoyed, and as the headmen of each of the villages had larger home-gardens and maintenance lands, the tribute they paid was greater, and therefore some paid at the rate of one *larin* others at two, some others at a *pardão* ([94]) and still others at even more ; the persons who went about entrusted with collecting these revenues also heard their law-suits, settled their disputes and also partitioned the properties of married couples, in which the kings too have a share, called *maralas*, ([95]) and with the change of government in the *dissavas* to the army-captains, they laid a claim to much of the jurisdiction and revenue, which, however, was not theirs, sharing with the king to the extent of at least half, and oftentimes the whole, of the *marala* dues, and in the same way, in the *gamwasam*, ([96]) and from this arose much conflict

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89. The Portuguese word *breu* means pitch, that is any resinous substance obtained from certain trees. The Portuguese, we can be certain, wanted these resins for their water-proofing, impregnating and binding properties, for use in the boats and ships they were building in Goa. (See paragraph 62). There are several varieties of trees yielding resinous substances from the trunk or roots and all are native to Ceylon. Some of them are *Canarium Zeylonicum* (Sin. Kekuna), *Doona Zeylanicum* (Sin. Dun), *Garcinia Morella* (Sin. Gokatu), *Odina Woodier* (Sin. Hik), *Pevocarpus Marsupium* (Sin. Gammalu), *Vateria Acuminata* (Sin. Hal). Another tree, *Palaquim Grandis* (Sin. Kirihembiliya) also yields a variety of gutta percha. H. F. Macmillan, *A Handbook of Tropical Gardening and Planting with special reference by Ceylon*, (Colombo 1910), pp. 442–450.

What is used in boat-building today is a resinous substance dug from the ground (called *dummala* in Sinhalese and said to be fossilized wood) and boiled, or the latex flowing from the jak fruit.

90. This word occurs in Azevedo's *regimento* (see *supra* p. 50.) and in the *tombo*. The spelling sometimes varies : Azevedo spells it *goripo*, and in the *tombo* it is written *guripo*. (AHU codex 484 f. 175 ; JCBRAS vol. XXXVI pp. 144, 145). The word is not Portuguese, nor is there any indication that any word resembling this was used in Ceylon, or is in use today. Both here and in Azevedo's document, *goripos* are connected with the supply of lance-shafts. The Portuguese dues-register (transcript in the National Archives, Colombo, p. 661) defines the term as " *aqueles que fazem as tias de lanssas* " (those who make lance-shafts.).

91. To understand the meaning of ramrods (*soquetes*) and ladles (*colheres*) one must know something of the tedious process by which a piece of artillery was loaded in the 17th century. Gunpowder is a loose mixture of three substances, sulphur charcoal and saltpetre. In the days before 'corning' of powder was introduced, it was not advisable to carry gunpowder ready-made, because, when it was shaken in transit, the sulphur settled at the bottom, while the charcoal came to the top, It was therefore the practice to carry the ingredients separately, and mix the powder in the field. The ladle was for pouring the mixed powder into the gun-barrel. A Portuguese document of the period outlining the stores available at the Mannar fort has the entry *tres colheres de carregar as pessas* (three ladles for loading the pieces). When mixed the powder had to be rammed home carefully. If pressed too hard, the shot took too long to fire, and if it was not pressed hard enough, the shot fell short. To ram the shot to the correct pressure, a piece of wood made exactly to fit the mouth of the cannon was used. This was the ramrod.

92. The village by that name in the Southern Province. Coir and rope-making are flourishing industries in the area even today.

93. As Malacca was then under siege by the Dutch, it is likely that it was they who captured the vessel.

94. Three Ceylon *larins* made a *pardao*.

95. The *marala* was a levy on the movable effects of the estate of a dead person. It was not concerned with the properties of married couples, and Pero da Silva was in error in thinking that it was.

96. *Gamuasam* were lands allocated for supplying food to royal officials on circuit. Cooked food was served to the officials, while their attendants were given only raw provisions.

between the revenue officials and the captains-general, the sole defenders of the *dissavas* in those matters. The revenue officials trying to set things out as they really are and the *dissavas* trying to retain possession of what was not theirs; I therefore enjoin you to issue the very clearest orders to the revenue collectors exactly in accordance with the lands-and dues-registers; it seems to be [necessary] in order to prevent great difficulties and to stop the army-captains from interfering with the collection of revenue, either in greater or minor measure, as His Majesty has ordered, that you should form a board with the captain-general which will go into the question of the expense allowance in money to be given to each of the *dissavas*, along with a village for the use of his *gabada*, [97] with the condition attached that the *dissava* shall not in any way compel the natives to pay him *dekum*, *marala*, *gamvasam* or other dues, nor require them to transport arecanut for him, or sappan, [98] fish, betel, tobacco, or to cut down trees for wood or to build *sampans*, [99] or to pay the *vibada* tributes, which is a share from their cultivation, [100] or to accept other impositions, as tyrannical as they are notoriously unjust; and what you have decided in regard to the expense-allowance, and the name of the village to be allotted to each of the *dissavas*, which is never to be varied, you will report to me, so that I may confirm it; this, it is to be understood [is to be implemented] after the lands have been subdued, at which time you will have to ensure the observation of this regulation, for one should have no sympathy when military officers who ought to make themselves worthy of the king's honour and reward by means of despatches should stoop to such lowly merchandise and prohibited dealings, so oppressive of the poor people and subjects of the same lord.

41. In the standing orders that His Majesty required to be issued to the superintendent of revenue, Antão Vaz Freire, he ordered it to be declared that no settler in the island of Ceylon who has received villages by way of lease could claim firm possession unless these were first confirmed, and whereas I now desire that grants made to persons who have served well and deserved such grants shall have them confirmed, you will publicise this in the municipal chamber [101] in such a way that it comes to the notice of all that they must send for confirmation so that their possession may be good in law, and as such, to be left to their sons and heirs, without any opportunity being left open to the captains-general to take them away, as they so often have done, for personal or other reasons; you will also inform them that the document issued by the officials of the board is inadequate to establish true ownership, either for transfer, subletting or for bequest, for His Majesty prohibits all these while [the grants are] yet unconfirmed and that he is obliged to take them away to give them to any settler who on the claim of residing in Ceylon wishes them to be confirmed in the name of His Majesty.

42. I have been informed that many persons hold villages by secret deals, with documents issued by the *banacas* and the captains-general and for which they subsequently obtain regularization from the board with bribes, contrary to the conditions laid down in the standing orders of His Majesty, and that they likewise sell these properties collusively, without the licence of the viceroys, proceeding thereafter to apply for fresh allotments, which are usually given, these deals reeking with scandal among other settlers and occasioning great ill feeling; therefore I now order you to hold a most detailed inquiry on the conduct of all those who were accomplices in these secret transactions, of purchases, sales, and grants, collusively made, because in no way can the standing orders be exceeded or the permission of the king be dispensed with; such villages you will set aside, to be allotted to those who have none and have served in the island and are settlers there; the buyers will have financial compensation from the persons who sold them the land because they have ill-used the property and the patrimony of the king; you will transcribe this article at the head of the written inquiry and give notice of this to the captain-general so that he may be kept informed of the beneficial effects this measure is likely to bring about to the inconvenience of being without means of reward in Ceylon [102]

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97. The *gabada* was the storehouse. For the use of the *gabada* means, therefore, for supplying the necessities of the *dissava*.

98. *Caesalpinia Sappan* (Sin. patangi)—a tree yielding a red dye. Earlier Portuguese works call it brasil wood. In the 17th century, sappan was exported to the Middle East.

99. A word of Malay or Chinese origin to designate a small boat.

100. This is the only instance I know of the occurrence of this word in a Portuguese document. It is Sinhalese, and means paddy tax, but how and where it was levied is not known.

101. This must refer to the chamber of Colombo, as most of the Portuguese lived there, and also because no other town in Ceylon had had municipal status conferred upon it.

102. Within some 10–15 years of the establishment of Portuguese power in Ceylon, villages of the more fertile areas of Ceylon had been rapidly distributed among the Portuguese officials. For late-comers and for those rendering distinguished service later, no means of reward were left.

43. In the same way, as soon as the lands are pacified you will announce with the captain-general the allotment of the villages which those persons are to have who may be captains in that same arrayal, for the use only of their companies of soldiers, without intervention of other interests, the which villages ought to be twenty, for the same number of companies of soldiers, all situated in the same *korale* in which the army camp at Menikkadawara is established ; that some villages may already be allotted by the board should not be a serious obstacle, for if those who hold these now are deserving persons, they ought to receive land in compensation elsewhere, for it is best to the service of His Majesty that the army should enjoy such certain service and situated at such close proximity as the same *korale* affords and that the captains can, on ceasing to hold their posts, in no way continue to keep the village which is set apart for the use of the company, because it is important that the office and the village should go together, as I have said in respect of the service lands of the *dissavas* ; and a separate register shall be drawn up of the settlement made so that for all time it shall be clear what was done in the matter, and as for the revenues, a valuation shall be made of the crops of the village, the which shall be given for the living of the captains like an allowance in such a manner that neither shall the king be injured nor the captains be without service. This order I give to be implemented from now on with no exception so that the generals shall not make [land] distributions to their favourites, as has happened, much to the detriment of third parties, from whom their lands were taken away ; and when it happens that certain companies are disembodied for lack of men then such villages as fall to them shall be managed in the interests of the king's treasury with a *vidana* appointed by you to secure the profit and benefit therefor, without there being any changing of one for another, for the number one company shall always have the name of one village coupled with it, and the second the name of another and in the same way from the third to the tenth and the twentieth and the *vidana* shall make the same profit available to the captain newly taking command of that company which had been disbanded.

44. The arrangement which I say should exist for the main body of the army and for the support of its companies should hold good at Sabaragamuwa when it is thought necessary for two additional garrisons to be stationed there, and the same in Matara, the camp for which, according to men of experience, should be at Hakmana, because it overlooks those lands more,([103]) notwithstanding that the *dissavas* have another post for additional reinforcement ; and granted that the *dissava* should have soldiers, this [post] has to be under his company, as has to be that of Sabragamuwa when it is given effect to.

45. In the above-mentioned register in which the particulars of the allocation of villages for service [of captains] are to be entered, you will also set down the villages assigned for the service of the captain-general's *palanquin* ([104]) and the villages of his *gabada* which are within the *vidanaship* of Kanampella, ([105]) above Malvana and the chief of which is Dehigampola ; although the officials of the *bandigarala* wished to claim a title over them they have been set apart for the use of Malvana, subject to the conditions laid down in the dues-register ; the same thing should be done about the *gabada* villages of the dairymen, ([106]) which their supervisors manage subject to the payment of quit-rent and which at present suffer greatly owing to the multiplicity of lords. Of all, they are considered the least profitable, it being the case as I am informed, that they could be the best by their situation and yield that there are in the whole island but since they are already set apart for this purpose, you will, on your part, make all necessary recommendations to prevent them being denuded of their timber or of their palms being destroyed and to oblige them to be planted anew so that these lands are not totally lost, and to treat conveniently of their cultivation.

46. Having put in order the matters above referred to, you will, through the revenue secretary, order the attorney for the College of the Fathers of the Company [of Jesus] to forward to this court the titles by which they hold all their properties, because His Majesty in his instructions dated the thirteenth of March last year, 1638, which he ordered to be sent to me, declared void all grants and allotments that Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, Nuno Alvares Pereira and other persons who held office in that island had

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103. Hakmana's strategic importance lay in that any advance on Matara from Kandy had to pass this post. Even the Dutch had a substantial force there. See J. H. O. Paulusz, *Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council 1762* (Colombo 1954)p.10

104. According to the *tombo*, some chaleas of Wanakapola and Weligalla in the Four *korales* had to serve the captain-general as his *palanquin*-bearers. JCBRAS vol. XXXVI p. 156.

105. Kanampella is in the Hewagam *korale*, Western Province.

106. These were probably the villages which supplied milk and ghee to the Sitawaka palace.

made to them, [107] and tell them that here their judge is Pero de Amaral Pimenta, *Juiz dos Feitos*, before whom these have to presented to be heard ; meanwhile you will order their revenues to be deposited separately and that from them only such expense-allowances as are allowed to the priests and clergy (and not brothers-coadjutor) in that island may continue to be given, as has been ordered in the case of the Fathers of St. Francis.

47. In regard to other matters, you will go on administering according to the standing orders and other instructions of His Majesty, as well as the dues-registers, on matters relating to the customary dues which are paid in the lands of the littoral, starting from Kalpitiya with its dye-roots, salt and *tuppotti* ([108]), Chilaw, Kammala and Negombo with their rents, customs houses, and *polaya* ([109]) from their coconut plantations and so to the other ports, Panadure, Beruwala, Maggona, Alutgama, Ratgama, Galle, Weligama with their tolls at crossings, ([110]) fisheries and other customary dues [and ending with] Devinuwara, salterns ([111]) and other trifles, which you will find in the standing orders of those collectors' offices, and which are set down in the registry office of the treasury at Colombo, in reading which it is worth your while to spend some time, because it is by these means that you can pick up the information necessary for the good administration of royal revenue ; you will bear in mind also that there has been much misappropriation, in arms, cinnamon as well as in the revenues due to the treasury on consignment of arecanut, at this station of Matara, all on account of the collectors being in dread of the *dissavas* and the army-captains stationed there, and for this reason I enjoin you to exercise the greatest care and vigilance in this business, in which you will order a person of the highest confidence to officiate when you cannot do this yourself.

48. The seed pearl fishery promises great improvement, according to the test made of it, ([112]) and to obviate disorder and to manage it on the lines laid down in His Majesty's standing orders—which will also be supplied to you by the board of accounts—I deem it proper to instruct you that at the beginning of February each year, you should get ready to proceed in person to the fishery, and leaving affairs in Colombo in good order you should hand over the administration to the factor with instructions on what he has to do, and should you deem it proper to entrust the same administration to a trust-worthy person with experience in revenue matters because you are going over to Mannar or to the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam, you may do so, nevertheless everything should be so subject to your *regimento* that neither that person, the factor, the *vidanas* nor the collectors should be able to deviate from what you have ordered ; during the fishery, you will act strictly according to the standing orders governing the keeping of accounts, preventing disorder, force and wrong-doing, and not allowing new practices which the captains of the armada or the captain of Mannar would like to introduce, and also making the Mannar passage so free that none shall dare to impose any levy other than that which has been enacted by the laws and standing orders in the form in which these were recently revised and left for the guidance of the factory by superintendent of revenue, Amauro Roiz, the which you will cause the officers there to observe as is contained therein ; for in those areas too it is possible to increase the revenues from the elephants and *alias*, as you will see from the standing orders referred to prepared by that superintendent of revenue.

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107. On their first coming to the Island in 1602, the Jesuits were granted a plot of land in Colombo to house their college Three years later, the sixty-four villages of the Munneswaram *devale* were granted. Later still, Moratuwa, Kohilawatta and sixteen *galpada* villages from the Three *koralas* were added.

108. *Tuppotti* means cloth. As used here, it means a due paid in cloth, though not upon cloth. *Kachchi* is another name for the same due.

109. A tax on coconut trees, at the rate of one *fanam* for every ten trees.

110. The document has *junções*, meaning junctions, intersections. What this due was is clear from a reference to the *tombo*. " *Declararão que nos limites do dito porto he dous junções a saber-hum da parte de nascente . . . . e outro da parte do sul, em cada hum dos ditos junções se paga de cada boy carregado de areca mil e cinquenta arequas.*" "(They declared that on the limits of the said port there are two crossings, namely one to the east and the other to the south, and at each of the crossings each bull laden with arecanut pays 1050 nuts. ") That was in Chilaw. Again in Kammala " *e nos limites de Caimel hu junção no rio de Topo . . . . . .* " (At the limits of Kammala a crossing in the river of Toppu). It is clear from these two references that *junções* were imposed in ports, on goods coming into the town from inland producing areas, and that they were usually charged at the crossing-point on the river, at the mouth of which most of these port-towns were situated. *Junções* were therefore internal customs duties.

111. The document does not indicate the connection between Devinuwara and the salt pans, which are at Bundala and Hambantota, some thirty miles from Devinuwara.

112. A pilot survey seems to have been a usual and useful preliminary before deciding on the fishery for seed-pearl. In 1638, for example, the revenue council in Goa received and examined a sample taken by a pilot survey team and ordered the fishery to be undertaken. Pissurlencar, *Assentos* II pp. 94, 97.

49. It is certain that while the affairs of Ceylon are not settled, you will not be able to absent yourself from them for any length of time, and since it seems to me that the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam should be visited owing to the numerous complaints that have been made to me and because of the captains-major demanding more than what is due to them ; it is necessary that the lands-and dues-registers on which the superintendent of revenue Amauro Roiz was engaged should be completed ([113]); on which question I sent you special orders with the necessary proclamations in September ; meanwhile I order you to pass your own order to the accountant of the customs house in Jaffnapatnam, whose name is Manoel Godinho, to proceed with the casting up in a register of what the revenue of each village individually is worth by way of fields, properties, gardens, trees and palms, so as to bring together in a total the number of heads [of households] which are tributary in each of the villages and so to set out everything in the dues-register, of which he is to send you a copy, and that also with some *kanakapulles* he should proceed with the collection of Tamil *pat olas* ([114]), village by village, on the lines of what has been done since this work was taken in hand ; you will also notify the captains-major not to regard as valid [the grant of] a single inch of territory which he may have given by writing or palm leaf document, since that could upset the purpose of the said *tombo* by such fields or lands being set down in the names certain persons and then passing to others and that the same should apply to his predecessor, Lopo Gomes de Abreu ; you will also note that before the lands-register is approved, it will have to be reviewed and examined for the imperfections it may contain

50. You will also inform the factor of that kingdom, Manoel de Sousa de Lacerda, to keep note of any elephants and *alias* that shall be brought in to Jaffnapatnam during his tenure of office, and that no one can claim to ownership over any of them, whether by capture or by way of gift, so long as the tributes due to His Majesty from the Vanni chiefs and the contract with Punarim ([115]) remain unpaid in full ; nor will you grant permission to any person to capture them in contravention of these conditions, without what is due to the king having first been satisfied.

51. The captains of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam have always sought to fence off the lands of Vanni, making them a preserve, into which no one may enter save those who have their permission, teaming up with the generals of Ceylon in peace time to enter Kandy, ([116]) and as these prejudicial actions had become so notorious, a provision was passed during the preceding regime to the effect that the collectorship and *adigarship* ([117]) of those lands should be filled by the viceroys or the superintendents of revenue, and that by their instructions, unalterably, should be administered not only the tribute of the Vanniyar, but also all the other customary cash payments and *aretane* ([118], that the inhabitants there are obliged to pay, according to a particular *regimento* to be based on the dues-register of those territories and while this has not been done, you will appoint to that post the most suitable and the most experienced person available and one who has also to engage himself in organising the hunting for cash of as many elephants and *alias* as possible, after the tribute [of the Vanni chiefs] is paid, because I have reached the conclusion that this is the greatest source of revenue in that kingdom and one to which the captains-major cannot be indifferent.

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113. Portuguese interest in compiling a land-register for Jaffna dates almost from the moment of its conquest. On 31 August, 1619 the revenue council in Goa decided on the need for one and agreed that the factor should undertake it. (Goa, codex 1159 f. 146 a). But nothing seems to have been done until Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara, *the vedor da fazenda* in Ceylon made a preliminary investigation about 1627 and reported that the *mudaliyars* were an obstacle to the work. (Pissurlencar *Assentos*, Supplementary series I p. 144). Later de Freitas spent five months in Jaffna—from June to November, 1630. (Goa codex 1161 f. 108v.-109 a). From October, 1636 to March, 1637 Amauro Roiz, the *vedor* in Ceylon, was engaged on the lands-register. He completed two books on the province of Valikamam, one each on Tenmarachchi, Vadamarachchi, Pachchilapalli and the islands, but they were still to be perfected. Particulars of the lands of the Vanni, Mannar and Mantota also had to be yet compiled in *tombo*-form. But he could not proceed any further because his term of office expired. (Goa, codex 27 f. 180a–182v). In 1642, Francisco de Seixas de Cabreira was reported to be working on it. (Goa, codex 1163 f. 204). The work was finally finished in 1645 when the captain-general, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, was forced to spend some time in Jaffna on his way to Goa to take up the post of viceroy. The decision to validate the *tombo* and the dues-register was taken in the council of revenue on 18 January, 1646. (P. E. Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jafanapatam 1645*, (Colombo 1944) pp. I–II.

114. These appear to be land-records of villages, written on palm-leaf. *Pat* is probably from the Sanskrit word *patra*, meaning leaf, folio.

115. Punarim (present spelling Pooneryn) is a district lying to the south of the Jaffna lagoon.

116. Portuguese policy in the seventeenth century was to isolate Kandy from contact with South India, in the hope that this would weaken her economically and politically. But this policy was often thwarted by the Portuguese officials in Puttalam, Mannar and Jaffna, who carried on a profitable trade with the Kandyan territories. That even the generals were not immune to this temptation was seen from the complaint against D. Francisco de Meneses that he, along with the *dissawas*, used to send opium, cloth and agricultural implements to Kandy and obtain arecanut, pepper and ginger. (Doc. Rem. III p. 201). The reference here is to this type of illicit trade.

117. *Adigars* were chief headmen. In Jaffna, Mannar or in the Vanni, however, they were not as important as in the Kandyan kingdom, where the two *adigars* were the principal ministers. In paragraph 56, *adigars* in Jaffna are equated with *vidanas* in the south. They were therefore revenue, and not political or military, officers.

118. Queyroz defines *aretane* as a tithe on paddy - " *o dizimo ou aretane de nele* ". Portuguese text p. 40.

52. As the elephants and *alias* are brought into Jaffnapatnam so they are entered in the books to the charge of the factor, giving such necessary particulars as their size and distinguishing marks, and the name of the Vanni chief who delivered it as tribute or captured it for money, as has already been introduced by the superintendent of revenue, Amauro Roiz, and which you will find from the receipt-books of the past factors, the export of these elephants too will be with their registration in another book to be kept for the same purpose wherein is to be set down the price for which they were sold, as well as to whom, in the account of the same factor, which the same officials shall report to you to prevent fraud.

53. The captains of Jaffnapatnam and Mannar shall not be present at the sale of the elephants and *alias* nor shall they bid by themselves or through a third party at the auctions; this is a point on which they have to be questioned at the inquiries on their conduct at the conclusion of their periods of office, ([119]) because of the heavy frauds which they tell me have been seen to take place in this way; whenever you can, you will make yourself present at the Elephant Quay ([120]) at the time of their sale and shipment out of the kingdom because the lower officers dare not, on account of the fear they entertain of the captains-major, [stop these abuses], of which complaints and affidavits have been received. You will also bear in mind that of the price for which such elephants and *alias* are sold, seven per cent is paid as a royal due on export, like any other merchandise, as you will find was introduced by the superintendent of revenue, Amauro Roiz, when he saw this was necessary in the interests of the treasury of His Majesty and this prevented the private arrangements that the captains of .....used to make with the Jaffna merchants of these animals.

54. I have also been informed that the captains of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam used to take upon themselves the farming out of [the revenues] of that kingdom and that as a result the revenues do not increase on account of the fear among the bidders, all this being greatly prejudicial to the revenues of His Majesty and quite contrary to his standing orders; and that the captains quite openly and freely proceed to demand a share from the renters for their enjoyment of the revenue farms, without paying which they dare not make bids for them and that the offers they make at the auction are with the deduction of the share that has to be paid to the captains; because of this, if you have the time to attend to the farming-out, you will arrange to have it done in your presence, although it may be a few months in advance, on account of the benefits that can result therefrom to the royal treasury; on these matters you will hold an enquiry about the persons who by these malpractices have caused losses to the treasury, in order to recover the whole of such losses from them and to condemn them for the offences they committed according to the laws of the said lord; you will also find out whether these captains or any other persons in their name have demanded or received a rake-off from the merchants who buy or make payments in the customs-house to be allowed to ship the elephants and *alias* and also whether they are compelled or have been compelled to freight ships of inferior quality for embarking them therein.

55. To the collector of Trincomalee you will issue orders to hunt as many elephants and *alias* as he can with the Veddahs at the price that was agreed upon in that fort by the superintendent of revenue, Amauro Roiz, and also that he should try to collect the tribute of elephants that the inhabitants of Tambalagama ([121]) are obliged to pay with the stipulation of their receiving a share, as has been agreed, so that by all possible means these hunts can be increased, and the revenues improved; you will bear in mind that for tusked elephants a contract is open with the *nawab* of Bengal who resides in the port of Orissa ([122]) and with the *naik* of Madurai, all in exchange for saltpetre, which commodity has been earnestly recommended to my attention by His Majesty in many letters that he wrote to me and so I order you in the name of the same lord to take all possible interest in these hunts and the fulfilment of the contracts.

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119. There was a practice in the Spanish empire for the holder of any office in its overseas possessions to be "grilled" on his conduct during office, before he was finally relieved of it. This inquiry was called the 'residencia'. Though the Portuguese in their eastern empire had something almilar, it never became the serious affair it was in the Spanish territories.

120. *The caes dos elefantes* (Elephant Quay) was, as the name indicates, the place from which these animals were shipped. Later, in its contracted form of Kayts, it began to be used as place-name.

121. Tambalagama is the present Tambalakan *pattu* of the Trincomalee district. A Sinhalese manuscript in the British Museum (Or 6603 (65) shows that Tambalagama enjoyed the status of a minor *dissava* under the king of Kandy in the eighteenth century.

122. Bengal and Orissa were conquered by the Mughal emperor Akbar in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. As in other parts of his empire, Akbar introduced centralised administration into both territories, placing them under *subahdars*. In the early years, Orissa too was under the Bengal *subah*, a separate line of governors for Orissa beginning only under Jahangir. Between 1632-41, the *subahdar* of Orissa was Mutaqad Khan (Mirza Maki), and the reference here could possibly be to him. J. N. Sarkar, *The History of Bengal*, vol. II (Dacca 1948) p. 231. Orissa was, of course, a province and not a sea port.

56. All the *adigarships*, which are the same as collectorships, have to be of your appointment, when they are not filled by the viceroys, because in Jaffnapatnam they are the same as *vidanaships* in Ceylon, all *adigars* being, in regard to their revenue-collection duties, accountable to the factor ; with this declaration you will remove the wrong notion among the captains of Mannar and Jaffnapatnam that to make appointments to this type of office is within their competence ; nor can they appoint to posts of *patangatin* ([123]) in so far as these are charged with any responsibility for the collection of revenue or tribute.

57. To the captain-general of Ceylon I am forwarding the copy of a petition presented to me here on the construction of the fort at Kalutara, and it is to the effect that he who brings it up to a satisfactory state ought to be allowed to pay homage for it ; ([124]) this question he has to refer to you for your observations taking surety from the person to whom it has been promised and stipulating the conditions, of which you and the captain-general will have to give me information.

58. To him I am referring also the question of the Negombo fort, the contract regarding which Lourenço Teixeira ([125]) has fulfilled so badly that the king can clearly be seen to have been deceived in allotting him villages, lands and service for the purpose which was not fulfilled ; I refer this question to the captain-general for re-consideration.

59. You are carrying a provision on the need to deposit separately all revenues and money from the cinnamon which has been applied to the work of fortifying Colombo ([126]); by this provision you will know what His Majesty ordered last year in addition to what you have to do by way of visiting this work very frequently ; although the provision is a general one for all other forts in India and presumes that there are no superintendents of revenue [in them], you will in these matters always exercise supervision as over all other royal properties, and ensure the progress of the work and give orders to have the [building] material collected, watchful of prices and the measurement of stone ; you will prefer to give the work on a piece-rate basis for each fathom of the wall, the contractor himself providing the stone, the hands as well as the service and on the part of the king, the carts of lime, as a thing which has to come from outside ; giving these works priority over the others because they are more important and so no work will be done on anything not connected with the fortification of Colombo, Galle, Jaffnapatnam, Trincomalee or in the island of Mannar.

60. A provision is going out for the [creation of a] tobacco monopoly and [embodying] the conditions for its farming out, as is done here ; certain persons have written to me that it would not be a bad thing if a *larin* was levied on each *amuna* of arecanut exported, in addition to the royal due when it pleases God to return things to normal in that island ; I order that henceforth this be implemented, should the citizen-body([127]) approve it for the same work, ([128]) and should they object, we shall have the arecanut appraised with the same royal dues, as was paid in the time of the heathen ([129]) and I fail to understand why this was dropped ; and let me know what happens, so that I may act as will best serve the interests of His Majesty.

61. For the conduct of the business at the customs house, you have the standing orders issued by Jorge Florim de Almeida ([130]) according to which you should proceed. The procedures are very much in vogue among the officials of the customs-houses, in Colombo as well as in Negombo.

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123. A headman of the fishing caste.

124. Note the feudal terminology. The practice appears to have been for the king (in feudal parlance, the lord) to give over the fort and the appurtenant lands (the feud or the benefice) to his vassal, who will pay him homage for it. The recipient would enjoy the income from the lands and keep the fort in good repair. Though the vocabulary was feudal, we are not sure that the system was feudal in form and character or that the vassal had any military or economic obligations, as would be the case under feudalism proper.

125. The fort was given over to Lourenço Teixeira de Macedo in the time of Azevedo (1594–1612).

126. From as early as 1608, the municipality of Colombo agitated for better fortification for Colombo. As a result, it was given the concession of exporting forty *bahars* of cinnamon, the proceeds from the sale of which were to be exclusively spent on the work of fortification. Later, the quantity was increased to sixty *bahars*. Doc. Rem. I p. 182 ; III p. 391. Goa codex 26 f. 89v ; codex 1167 f. 29a. *The Ceylon Literary Register*, Third Series, vol. III (Colombo 1933–34) pp. 554–5.

127. *Povo* (people) was used for the whole body of citizens of a municipality. The reference here was to the settlers in Colombo.

128. That is, for the fortification of Colombo.

129. What this refers to is not known.

130. Appointed *provedor de fazenda* in Ceylon by the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque (May 1591–May 1597), with instructions to make a *tombo* of the lands under the Portuguese.

62. Two other male elephants are very necessary for service in the docks here and if there are none currently available belonging to the king, you will obtain them from whatever other source possible, and embark them on these vessels which are returning in April ; you will take great care that the owners are compensated with elephants of the same size and temperament from among the first animals to be captured ; you will bear in mind that since I am laying the keel for the new galleon, the services of these animals will be all the more greatly needed ([131]) and for this reason, I commend this matter greatly to your care and because the April monsoons are much delayed you will order the vessel in which the animals are embarked to be well-stocked with water.

63. In view of the confidence I have in you and the experience you have had I could have been excused for omitting some instructions from these standing orders, all of which will serve you-some as advice and others as indications of the way you ought to proceed ; I now give you all these, each of them greatly commended to be observed and guarded, leaving to your judgment and disposition any other matters which may arise, of which you will always keep me informed in order that I may, decide what is best for the service of His Majesty. Given in Goa. Diogo Manoel ordered this to be written on the third of February, 1639.

64. Two years ago the *nawab* who governs the lands of Bengal wanted to renetw the commerce which we formerly had there, ([132]) and sent to me asking for passpords for his ships, which I issued, ([133]) for him to send ships to Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin an; to this city and in accordance with these he has already sent two ships to Ceylon since it is greatly to the service of His Majesty that this trade should continue, owing to the many benefits to the state that could accrue, in supplies and saltpetre that come from Bengal ([134]) as well as in other advantages, I charge you to extend to these ships and men from Bengal good treatment and a warm welcome and to pay them punctually for what is bought from them; because this trade is of such great importance that nothing we do on our part should occasion its termination, I shall be pleased if this article is carefully observed. You will bear in mind that I am conveying to the *nawab* the order I am giving to you about him and you ought to show it to the Moors that you have it to favour them and so that they will be encouraged to keep coming to Ceylon ; should these ships arrive in the harbours in Jaffna, you will furnish orders for them to be accorded the same good treatment there too.

65. Many a time has His Majesty recommended the growing of pepper in the island of Ceylon and all standing orders issued to the superintendents of revenue therefore contain reminders of the advantages of doing this ; I therefore order that you will, with the assistance of the captain-general, persuade the native inhabitants of the entire seaboard from Madampe to Weligama and the territories of Matara to plant as much pepper as they can, under the arecanut palms and jak trees and [not only] on the lands of the littoral, [but also] in all other areas that are subject to His Majesty and that you will do them favours over and above the payment to be made for the pepper ; I enjoin you to implement this measure fully so that seeing what is paid to them and the concessions that they receive, the inhabitants will come round to undertaking this cultivation.

66. The revenue officers here have not settled on the exact weight which the captains of the ships ought to deliver from the cinnamon that they receive there, and I am certain according to my information that the chaleas deliver to the *vidana* of cinnamon at 116 *arratens* ([135]) for each bale, net weight, and because these are later wrapped in mats and bound with rattan and coir-rope and always when they arrive here without allowance being made for loss there may have been occasioned they never adjust the account with any certainty ; I therefore enjoin you that at the time

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131. Ribeiro mentions that in his day some ten or twelve elephants were employed in dragging logs at the Goa docks. *The Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon*, translated by P. E. Pieris, (Colombo 1948) p. 56.

132. About the year 1579, the Portuguese established a trading station and a settlement at Hugli with Akbar's permission. But its growing prosperity, its proselytising work and the lawlessness of its inhabitants made Shahjahan order its capture, which was effected in 1632. The reference to previous commerce was probably to the trade at Hugli. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal* vol. II (Dacca 1948) pp. 318–27.

133. See note 31 p. 8.

134. The saltpetre came probably from Bihar. In 1757–8, these lands passed on to the English East India Company. C. U . Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds* vol. I (Calcutta 1876) p. 19.

135. The *arratel* (plural *arrateis* or *arratens*) was the unit of weight used in Portugal prior to the introduction of the metric system. An *arratel* equalled 459 grammes and was slightly over a pound.

the cinnamon is stowed in the hold of the ship, all captains must be [required to be] present to sign the invoice which you will prepare for them, without alleging [later] that this was not done; it appears to me that an abatement of eight or six *arratens* from the weight received by the *vidana* should be sufficient, and for the rest the captains of the ships will have to account; all this should come with the degree of clarity I expect from you.

67. Many are the provisions that have been passed for that island of Ceylon from the time and governorship of the viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, in whose time His Majesty ordered the taking in hand of the preparation of the land-register of the entire island and the entry in a book of all properties belonging to the royal treasury, be they particulars of cinnamon, pepper, minerals, arecanut, *vidanaships*, of the prohibition on cutting timber or building pinnaces or particulars of royal dues, elephants and *alias* or finally of all else of his and pertaining as of right to the same king; you will have to observe all these provisions passed for the benefit of the revenues and conquest in their entirety, as and in the manner contained therein, notwithstanding that they are not laid down here, each by itself, because you will find them all registered in the record office of the treasury in Colombo and many of them in the first and second registers of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam. With these I commend these standing orders greatly to your care, because upon them depends the purpose and administration of that for which I send you.

8 February [1]639 **Pero da Sylva**

GLOSSARY

Amuna a measure of quantity As applied to arecanut, an *amuna* contained 28,000 nuts.

Aratchi a captain of a company of native soldiers.

Arrack a liquor brewed from the juice of the coconut palm.

Arratel (pl. *arrateis* or *arratens*) a measure of weight equal to 459 grms.

Badda (i) a group of people organized as a unit for service to the state. The service, more often than not, depended on the caste to which the people belonged. (ii) the dues that the state was entitled to from such a group.

Bahar a measure of weight equal to 400–500 lbs.

Banaca secretary or interpreter to the captain-general.

Bandigarala an officer who commanded the troops guarding the person of the Portuguese captain-general.

Bolça a tax on trades.

Canacapole see under *kanakapulle*.

Canada a measure of capacity, equal to 1.40 litres.

Candy a measure of weight, equal to about 700 lbs. As applied to transactions in copra today, a *candy* is the equivalent of 560 lbs.

Cartazes passports issued to ships.

Casa dos contos counting house, office of exchequer.

Chaleas cinnamon peelers.

Champana a small boat.

Chank the hard shell of certain molluscs, used for ceremonial or religious purposes.

Coro probably the same as *corge* or *coorge*, Indian terms for a score.

Curumbins the agricultural people of Goa and the neighbouring islands.

Deketipanam in Portuguese documents, this word is variously spelt—*de quita fanão*, *catifanão*, or *quota fanão*. *Panam* (i.e. *fanam*) stands for a tax or a coin. *Deketta* is the sickle.

Dekum a customary payment made on the occasion of seeing the king.

Dhoney a small boat used in coastal sailing.

Dissawa (i) a province (ii) the provincial governor.

Duraya a headman of the chalea caste.

Fanam a coin widely circulated in Ceylon and South India in the 17th and 18th centuries. Generally twenty *fanam* made a *larim*.

Gabada a store-house.

Gamwasam lands set apart for supplying food or provisions to royal officials on circuit.

Junções internal customs duties.

Kachchi cloth.

Kanakapulle an officer who kept accounts.

Kangany a minor supervisor or foreman.

Korale a district.

Kotikabadda arecanut paid as a due to the royal treasury from lands set apart for the use of the royal store-house.

Kottalbadda artificers' department.

Kuruwe the department in charge of the royal elephant stables.

Larim (pl. *larins*) a coin.

Lascarins native soldiers of Asian origin.

Madige cattle-keepers whose duty was to transport the king's produce.

Mahabadda the cinnamon department.

Mohottiyar an officer with secretarial functions.
Mudaliyar a high military officer.
Naik the chief of a South Indian principality.
Ola (i) palm leaf (ii) official document.
Ordinaria an allowance paid to clergy.
Ouvidor a judge.
Palanquin a litter for carrying important personages.
Pannayas the caste which supplied fodder to royal elephants.
Paraveni heritable land.
Pardão a Portuguese coin, value 300 *reis*.
Patangatin headman of the fishing caste.
Pattayama a store-house for grain.
Pingo a pole at either end of which two loads were suspended. It also meant a porter's load of goods offered as a due.
Pol aya a tax of one *fanam* on every ten coconut trees.
Putabenas (literally sons and nephews) a privileged group within the chalea caste-its privileges deriving from kinship with the headman. The *putabenas* were exempt from cinnamon peeling, but were liable to the ancillary services connected with cinnamon.
Regimento standing order issued by the king or viceroy to subordinate officials.
Reis Portuguese money of account.
Tuppotti (i) cloth (ii) dues paid in cloth.
Vedor da fazenda superintendent of revenue.
Vidana (i) headman of a district i.e. the *korale vidana*. (ii) head of revenue department. (iii) landholder's agent in a village.,
Xaya Indian madder plant yielding a dye from its roots.
Xerafim coin worth 300 *reis*.

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